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SUMNER C. POWELL is a graduate student at Harvard University working under Professor John M. Gaus. He and the artist for the sketches, GERHART LIEBMAN, spent part of last summer traveling through England on a search for buildings and documents relating to early Sudbury, Massachusetts. His interest was drawn to the Journal *of the S.A.H. through the publication of Anthony Garvan's article on the "Protestant Plain Style Before 1630" in the October issue of 1950.*

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SUDBURY, MASSACHUSETTS

The significance of an early New England town can best be understood when one treats it as having both a historic continuity with the specific local English background of its inhabitants and also a life of its own developed from this background. Its architecture should be considered one expression of this life and can often give important clues to the principles of social activity within the community. Luckily, enough records have remained to reconstruct the distinctive society and architecture of Sudbury.[1]

The way in which men from at least nine English counties and seven incorporated boroughs built and developed Sudbury illustrates three significant facts—that the townsmen did not follow all the principles of town organization laid down by the General Court, that they were conscious of the important differences between Sudbury and neighboring towns, and that, for fifty years at least, their vision of a town was more limited by what they had known in England than inspired by new concepts.

One may advance the thesis, then, that in establishing a town which had so much power in comparison with that of the central government, the Englishmen who came from the manors joined with those who had lived in the boroughs to organize and build a unit of civilization which enjoyed some of the exclusive privileges and powers of the incorporated boroughs in England.

It is significant that, of the first leaders of Sudbury, Mr. Brian Pendleton had come from London; Mr. Peter Noyes had property and relatives within the borough of Andover, Hants; Mr. Pelham had lived in Boston, Lincs; Walter Haynes had land in Shaftesbury, Dorset; Edmund Rice had emigrated, with others, from the market town and borough of Berkhamsted, Herts; and that the Parmenters had come from the ancient borough of Sudbury, Suffolk.[2] It is of particular importance to note that Mr. Peter Noyes had been bailiff of the Manor of Ramridge, in Weyhill, Hants, just five miles from Andover, prior to his emigration, and that he brought over servants and friends from the area, seemingly with the specific design of establishing a corporate organization of society.[3]

Not only was the covenant a cardinal principle of Calvinism, but the incorporated borough had long been the vision and the strength of many of the English middle class, who, within their town walls, had for centuries organized and directed, under borough burgesses, guilds, justices, aldermen and mayors, all aspects of life within "the ancient liberties and privileges" of each borough.[4] Only a royal charter could create a borough, and the General Court of Massachusetts clearly had no authority to establish corporate towns; nonetheless, when the group of approximately 180 men, women and children disappeared down the Bay Path in 1638-1639 and had staked out their property, they clearly defined their ultimate objectives by choosing the name of an old borough in England and by assuming corporate ownership of the property and resources within their new jurisdiction.

The pretensions of this group seem startling. They had chosen a five-mile square area of land deep within the "frontier" of Massachusetts whose only possibility of being a center of trade was the dense settlement of the surrounding area, use of the sluggish river for navigation, and the exploitation of the Bay Path as an artery of transportation between the new Connecticut towns and the Bay area. The Parmenter family, tailors by trade, might well have pointed out, however, that the river Stour, which ran through old Sudbury, England, was only half the size of the "great River" in the frontier tract and yet had been navigable; and furthermore, that Sudbury, England was similarly situated inland from the coastal boroughs of Ipswich and Colchester, a site which had not prevented the borough from becoming a market town and a thriving center of the "new woolen" manufactures.

The settlers in new Sudbury quickly built their mill in the middle of their tract and constructed their houses around a common. It is fortunate that records still remain describing the details of three buildings in areas in England from which the settlers had emigrated. John Stone, later to build the first mill at what is now Saxonville, Massachusetts, had relatives in Great Bromley, Essex, England whose churchwardens were directing the construction of an almshouse as well as a "town house," 1627-1640.[5] Only the accounts have survived, but they are revealing as to methods and costs in this section of Essex. For the almshouse, the churchwardens paid out:

For carrying 5 lodes of clay & straw to the Almeshouse: 02/8
For nayles, lathes & tyle for the Almeshouse: 0/10
For one foote and A halfe of glasse: 0/9
To the Dober for his work: 10/9
To the mason for work at the Church & Almeshouse: 01/8
For sande carridge & helping: 0/8
For nayles, hayer, layth & tyle: 0/3
For 100 tyle, 100 brick & 1460 ruertyles: 03/2
To the mason for tyling & pinning the Almeshouse: 02/2
It. for one dayes work of a plummer: 02/6
It. for 4 hundred of brick: 04/0
It. for 6 pounde of soder: 05/6
It. for 3 dayes worke of a carpenter & his boy: 09/6[6]

As for the town house, some of the important expenses were as follows:

At the townshouse 3 peeces containing 31 foot at 5d the foot: 12/11
3 little scorells: 0/6
3 loads of brick: 19/0
For 400 of splints: 05/0
For the masons work: 02/0
For 1000 of nayles: 04/6
For hooks & hengels: 02/2
For 2 loades of straw: 12/0
For caring clay to the townhouse: 03/4
For thatching at the town house: 17/0
For caryinge of 3 loade of timber from the towne house to the almeshouse: 04/0
For hookes of a dore at the towne house: 01/0
For two load of straw carried into the town house: 11/0
For thatching: 09/0
Payd for dobing up of the walles about the towne house: 02/4
Payd for 4 loades of brick for the towne house: 01/02/00
For 6 bushels of lyme for setting up the chimney at the towne house: 03/0
Payd for 5 loades of straw for the towne house: 01/12/05
Payd unto Richard Stone for fetching of clay & sand to the towne house: 05/0

Although both buildings were made of half-timber and brick, the almshouse had a tile roof and the town house a heavy thatch one. The structures seem to have taken at least eleven years to complete, helped now and then by: "Item: for a bottle of beere for the masons & the glayser: 0/6."

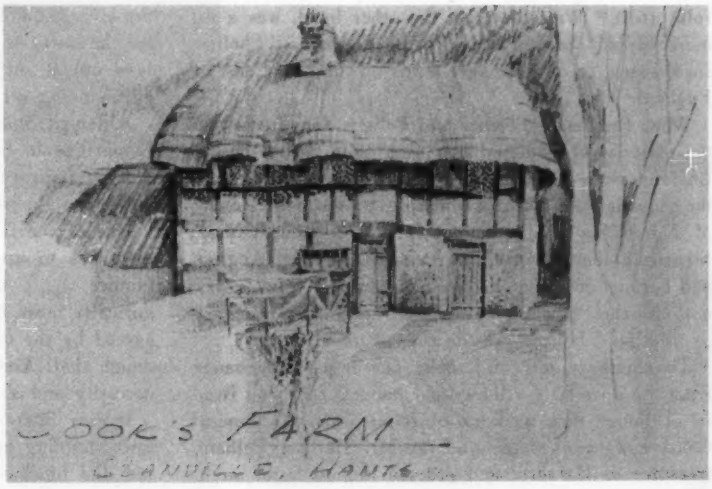
Wooden frame construction was by no means peculiar to Essex, and the first carpenter to arrive in Sudbury, Massachusetts, John Rutter, had undoubtedly watched the building of the prison in the borough of Andover, adjacent to his old parish of Weyhill. The borough council very likely used the resources of nearby Harewood Forest:

It. payed to Rbt Weste . . . for 20 tones & three quarters of tymbar at 13s per ton: 13/09/09
It. pd Kemp for sawing of 1113 foot in two, each bord at 20d per 100: 18/07
It. for caraieg and pearching there: 01/8
It. for Rbt. Smith for 3 peeces of tymbar: 01/08/00
It. Mr. Twitchen for 4 peeces and a top of Mr. Marshals tymbar: 02/11/00
It. Waltar Figgars for 6 dayes work: 06/0
Pd. T. Smith for the lower prison window in Iron wrought: 01/10/16 at 2/6 per pound
It. pd Mr. Blake for 2 lodes of free stone: 01/10/00
It. for the chamber prison windowe 22 bares of iron waying 1/1/23 at 15s per 100: 01/01/09
It. to N. House for cutting the bares: 0/10
It. for 1500 of 8d nailes: 10/0
It. for Cleves Wyte gathering 4 lode stones: 02/0
It. for drawing two peces tymbars to pytt: 0/6
To G. Kemp and his mate for their helpe doune [doing] the frame and Rering: 03/0
It. for 8,000 2d nailes: 10/0
It. for one paier of hemmores 10 lb. at 3d: 02/6
It. for 5 lb. iron made to hold in the windows: 01/3
Paid for one locke: 02/0
It. for a stapell: 3d
For a thousand & 700 tyles at 17s a thousand: 01/09/00
For 1400 of lath at 12d per 100: 14/0[7]

The above items are only excerpts from the accounts, which stretch over the period 1625-1630, the total cost of the prison being: 116/03/04. Since a total of 4800 feet of boards were sawn and the "lodes of freestone" went into the chimney(s), the prison was an all-wood frame construction, having a tile roof and barred windows, and probably was covered with weatherboarding.[8]

Thomas Cakebread, in building the mill at Sudbury, Massachusetts, probably used a similar frame construction and thatch to cover it. Although the town paid him only £9 in actual value, this was not as important as the fact that the payment consisted of a grant of forty acres of upland next to the mill and twenty acres of adjoining meadow.[9] Sudbury also granted him a farm of seventy acres of upland and meadow for becoming

SUDBURY, MASSACHUSETTS — MAP OF 1650



All sketches by Gerhart Liebman

one of the town.

Despite the fact that the Sudbury townsmen established a mill as one of their first corporate acts, most of them were well aware that their lives were to be devoted primarily to agriculture rather than to trade or industry. In staking out their house-lots, "streets," and fields, therefore, they thought in terms of the farming villages they had known, and in the initial layout of Sudbury lies the key to its individuality. In no sense did the first settlers understand the term, "planned community" or "town plan," as used today, and it may

be stated that this was also true of most of the men in the adjacent towns. Their concept of a town was formed from English custom and tradition and can best be analyzed and explained by comparisons with the specific places within England which the founders of Sudbury had known. The fact that a majority of the Sudbury men had known the open-field system of agriculture was more important than Calvinistic ideals of "sitting together" in a "godly town," or the fact that the interior of Massachusetts was hardly likely to be ideal "corne" growing country. Dominated by the force of custom, the Sudbury men laid out a ribbon village around a common "for working cattell," a north field and a south field, individual crofts four miles from the village center, and widely scattered strips of meadow staked out on the banks of the "great River" and of Pantry Brook.[10]

There must have been long disputes before the final plan was decided upon. There is little question but that London men like Pendleton and Belcher, or the Bostonian (Lincs) Pelham hoped to build Sudbury into a center of trade and that they had watched the growing towns of Cambridge and Watertown with interest. As William Wood remarked, Cambridge "was first intended for a city,"[11] and one can understand how little the first New England "city planners" were concerned with adding new concepts to traditional borough design by comparing the 1634 map of Cambridge with one of an English borough, such as Speed's map of Ipswich, Suffolk, 1610.[12] Watertown, on the other hand, was a bit more spread out, but was as East Anglian as Chelmsford, Essex, or other market towns on the East Coast of England.[13]

What Pendleton, Belcher and Pelham found was that the majority of Sudbury men were from the regions of England where changes had been made only slowly over the centuries and that these men would not modify many of their habits for any man or for any climate. It is not surprising then, to find the enterprising East Anglian and borough men moving out of Sudbury in a few years, not into the "howling wildernesse," but eastward back to trade and industry in the coastal towns.

The Sudbury men did make one important change from the open-field villages and hamlets they had lived in. Although they made no objection when the General Court assigned a huge area to Mr. Herbert Pelham, treasurer of Harvard, and ordered him to build on it, the settlers refused to allow a manor to grow within their bounds and watched the movements of "Mr. Pelham" with jealousy and suspicion.[14] Mr. Peter Noyes, formerly bailiff of the Manor of Ramridge, Hants, in being elected to the governing committee of Sudbury in the first few years, was without question following the steps of those relatives of his who, back in England, had been "Approved Men," town clerks, and other key officers of the borough of Andover, and he was eschewing the leadership of those other Noyes relatives who had run the neighboring manorial estates of Ramridge Hall and of Blissimore Hall, both in Weyhill.[15]

The concept of a stratified hierarchy of society, however, was not abandoned in early Sudbury, regardless of the absence of lords of the manor and of the gentry. The townsmen, acting as a whole and by majority vote, disregarding the order of the General Court that only "freemen" could exercise this power, granted land and meadow to inhabitants according to their "estate," and, having assessed the wealth of each man and his property, they firmly observed a "rule" by which the land and meadow of "The Town of Sudbury shall be layed out & given to the present Inhabitants."[16]

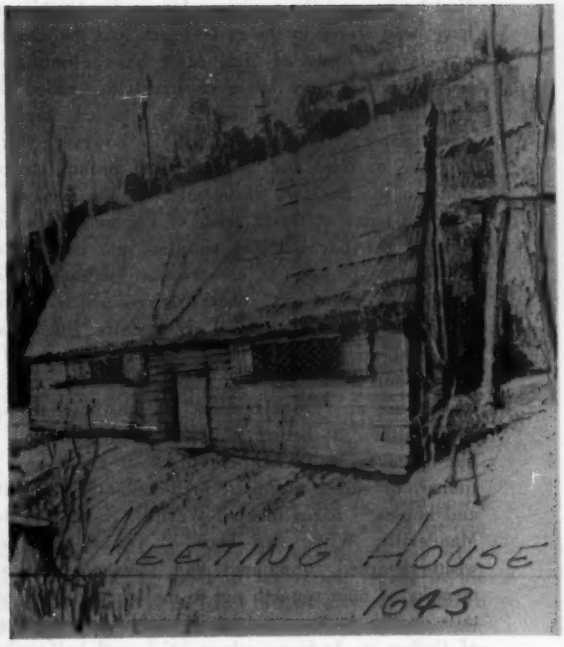
The only concession to the shift from English land tenure to tenure in Sudbury was the fact that most of the settlers, and probably all of the heads of families, were "granted and layed out" a four-acre house-lot fronting a street of the town and were given more land than they had enjoyed in England.[17] Exactly how this land was to be held was not explicity defined, but it can be argued that the townsmen did not enjoy freehold tenure and specific deeds at once. The town decreed, "It is agreed by a generall consent of the townsmen that all the inhabitants that have any land granted before this have from this tyme six moneth liberty to lay it out & if any within the said tyme of six moneth shall neglect the layinge out of any such land it shall then be lawfull for the towne to dispose of any land which shall not be layd out at such a tyme as occasion shall serve, notwithstanding all former grants."[18]

Although Sudbury did not, on record, go as far as Cambridge in taking away land from those men who did not improve it,[19] it jealously guarded its resources and suffered none to be wasted.

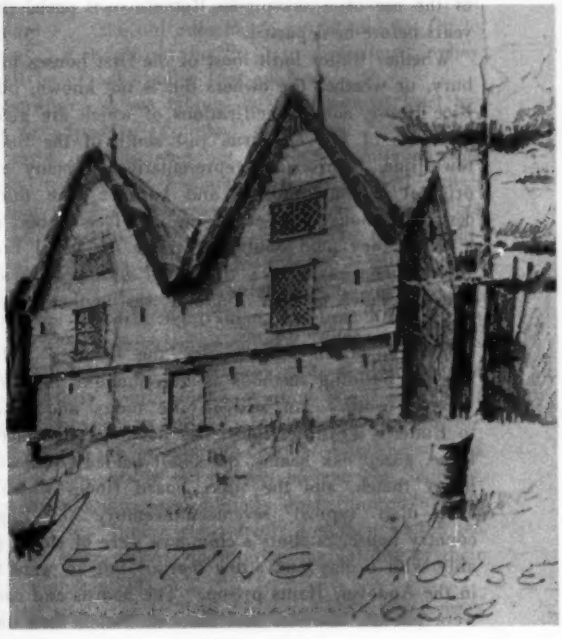
One of the first acts of law passed by the Sudbury men was to appoint individuals to "dispose of . . . tymber . . . upon the common,"[20] a law made categorically clear by the act in the following year, "It is agreed by the town that John Bent and Edmund Goodnough shall Assign all timber to be fallen to any mans necessity and shall make it known unto them."[21]

It may interest the conservationists to learn that the town, holding in common some 10,000 acres of white, red and black oak, chestnut, ash and pine,[22] not only appointed "timber keepers" each year but also passed a law which held the threat of a heavy fine, assured by the additional income going to those who enforced it, "It is ordered that whosoever after this day shall fell any tymber upon the common without leave either from Mr. Noyes or Edmond Goodnow shall forfeit for every tree soe fallen nyneteene shillings and alsoe Edmond

BARN - SUTTON MANDEVILLE, WILTS


MEETING HOUSE
1643

RICE HOUSE


MEETING HOUSE
1654

CHURCH, NEWHALL, HANTS

Goodnow is appointed to see to all defects & to have halfe the forfeit himselfe for his labor & the rest is to go to the towne's use."[23]

Undoubtedly a good deal of timber was used for the first houses and the necessary fences, for brick seems to have been scarce in the early years, and the absence of any large supply of lime must have eliminated the possibility of large stone constructions, added to the fact that much timber had to be cleared, anyway, to start farming. It does not follow, however, that this shortage of lime and brick created unfamiliar conditions to the Sudbury carpenters. As the settlers came from so many different areas of England, each having its own peculiar building supplies and its own traditional idiosyncrasies of construction methods, it is impossible to make any generalizations which can cover this variety in English local architecture. But it can be said that neither John Rutter, the first recorded carpenter, nor Walter Haynes, who had lived in Wiltshire, had to use an "Essex method" of weatherboarding, as Mr. Matthew S. Briggs implies.[24] Although both men had lived in hamlets where brick or chalk and half-timber, or stone, was used predominantly for cottages and houses;[25] barns in both Weyhill, Hants and Sutton Mandeville, Wilts, had been of frame construction, weatherboarded, unpainted and thatched, "since the memory of man runneth not to the contrary."[26] The details on the Andover prison illustrate the extensive use of timber in Andover, where brick and half-timber is the traditional structure of houses, and there are records of the use of a saw-pit in Rutter's own parish in the years before he departed.[27]

Whether Rutter built most of the first houses in Sudbury, or whether the owners did is not known, but the Rice House, some specifications of which are given in his lease of Glover Farm, just south of the Sudbury town line, is probably representative of many of the original Sudbury houses and barns.[28] One thing is certain: although the settlers enjoyed free timber, up to a point, they paid double or triple the usual English wages for a carpenter's time, one additional evidence that the move to New England was neither easy nor cheap.[29]

How much, in other ways, "the frontier" affected English building methods is questionable. A fine old fifteenth-century inn still in use today and adjacent to Rutter's Weyhill, Hants, has the huge fireplace, the large, adzed oak beams, the small leaded windows, the heavy thatch, and the wide, board floors which one finds in a "typical" seventeenth-century New England country house. Sudbury's chimneys were of stone, probably with a clay and straw mortar, but so were those in the Andover, Hants prison.[30] The boards and timbers were pinned, mortised and tenoned, rather than nailed, but this was not unusual for the English carpenter. Without much question, the carpenters tried to adapt the resources in Sudbury to traditional methods of building and made modifications only grudgingly.

English construction is explicitly described in the first full contract in the Sudbury Town Book, that for the bridge at Munning's Point in 1642, ". . . the said Ambrose doth promise to build a sufficient cart bridge over the River three foot above high water and twelve feet wyde from the one side of the river to the other, provided that the towne doth fell & cross cutt the tymber and saw all the plank and carry it to place and when it is ready framed, the town doth promise to help him to raise it."[31]

The importance which the Sudbury men attached to their town is quite clearly implied in the last clause of the contract, "Allsoe the towne doth admitt of him as a townsman with right to commonage and upland as more shall be layd out . . ."[32] The fact that both Sudbury men who signed the contract, Pendleton and W Haynes, had known the borough organization in England, helps support the thesis that the Sudbury men were more interested in establishing a corporate body of free burgesses and unprivileged inhabitants than they were in instituting a Calvinistic hierarchy of religious freemen and non-freemen.[33] "The towne" was the primary object of loyalty to the majority of the first Sudbury men, and it was the "townsmen" who eventually built their church and established a salary for their minister:

February 17th, 1642

It is agreed between the townsmen of the towne on the. . .[one part] and John Rutter on the other part that the said John. . .[Rutter] for his parte shall fell, saw, hew and frame a house for a meeting house thirty foote longe, twenty foote wide, eight foote be [tween] joynte three foote between studde two cross dorments in [the] house six clearstory windowes two with four lyghts a peece and foure with three lyghts a peece and to ententise between the studde which frame is to be made ready to raise the fourth weeke in May next. John Rutter

And the towne for their parte do covenant to draw all tymber to place and to helpe rayse the house being [framed] and allsoe to pay to the said John Rutter for the said . . . [house] six pound, that is to say three pound to be paid in corne at three shillings a bushell or in money in and upon the [twenty] seventh day of this present month and the other three pounds to be payd in money, corne and cattle, the corne and cattle to be prized by two men of the towne, one to be chosen by the towne and the other to be chosen by John Rutter, and to be paid at the time that the frame shall be by the said John Rutter finished.

Peter Noyes Brian Pendleton John How
Walter Hayme William Ward Thomas Whyte[34]

Unlike the East Anglians in Watertown, who simply

granted a contract to a carpenter to build their church, the Sudbury men decided on their public structures by majority vote in public town meetings, a practice which they continued throughout the seventeenth century. That they thought in terms of a Protestant aesthetic, somewhat along the lines which Mr. Garvan has suggested,[35] is a very debatable question. Certainly their "house for a meeting house" was a shift from the churches they had known. Rutter's and Noyes' parish church at Weyhill, Hants, was centuries old, small, partially cruciform in ground plan, and built of flints with a timbered and leaded roof. Thoroughly medieval in atmosphere inside, it had a Norman arch in the chancel, galleries in the rear of the nave, and an interior darkness illuminated only by candles.[36]

Rutter and the Sudbury men wanted their new church to emphasize lectures and sermons rather than embody ritual and symbolism, but their minds simply did not work on the level of an abstract aesthetic. They built a "house," much as they had known houses in England, and filled it with seats and a pulpit. They paid for their meeting house a sum which was only twice the cost of painting Rice's old church in Berkhamsted and less than one year's charges in maintaining this same church. Furthermore, all the town, both saints and unregenerate, paid the costs and had a vote on all details. The building was probably an architectural and economic compromise and never had a well-articulated design.

Concurrent with the building of the church, if not long before, the townsmen built their pound. In that Sudbury was a cattle town for most of the first decades, it needed a large stockade to lock up all the strays, and a contract in the Town Book, 1648, makes it quite easy to reconstruct the pound, which was about forty feet square. The authors were pleasantly surprised to find in Shaftesbury, Dorset, former home of Thomas Goodnow and the Kings, a structure which corresponded exactly, although it was somewhat smaller, to the one built according to the 1648 contract.[38]

The pace of life was slow, then as now, both in the Shaftesbury area and in early Sudbury. It was two years after the initial church contract before the townsmen were "levying a rate . . . for the planking of the meeting house" and three years before "all those who were appointed to have seats in the meeting house" were paying for them.[39] It is significant that the Town Clerk, not the minister and his church wardens, decided on the social hierarchy within the Sudbury church, albeit the Clerk was a good Puritan, full of love for his pastor.[40] "It is ordered by the towne that all those that doe pay for seates in the meetinghouse shall have liberty to sell soe many seates as they pay for, provided they leave the seating of the persons to whom they sell to Hugh Griffyn to seat them, if they themselves go out of town."[41]

Griffin, who seems to have come from Limehouse, just outside of London, was not only Clerk, but handy with his carpenter's tools. The seasonal flood of the "great River" continually rotted even the stout oak timbers of Hawkins' bridge, and the town eventually spent far more on bridge repair than on their church.[42] Within the first year after the bridge had been raised, Sudbury ordered Griffin to "get sleepers" and lay them, "to lay the planke . . . and doubble pinne them."[43] Within five more years, Griffin, "for the present stayinge of the bridge," was ordered to "fell some pyne poles & hew them & gett Goodman Ward to draw them & then he is to pinn them on & pinn the planke . . ."[44] In two more years, Griffin was again, "to find a course to mend what is defective in the Bridge, for the rayles & plankes & buttingends,"[45] but he could not have done a satisfactory job. Within five months the town called on Rutter and on William Kerley, to "forth with mend the bridge," particularly "the rayles & the plankes and the string peeces." Furthermore, the town told Rutter and Kerley exactly how to do the job:

> They are to tenante and to putt into the three posts, in that the tenants are broken, and they are to see one length of. . .[timber] lyne a foote square on every side of the bridge and to lay string peeces in the middle from end to end and further they are to planke pinning, every plank to brace the rayles at the end. . .and if there be not string peeces enough. . .for to string the middle of the bridge from end to end, they are to provide pine string peeces a foot square . . . the old ones being rotten, and not fitt to stand. . .if it fall out that they are necessitated. . .they shall be of oake and a foot one way. . .[46]

Meanwhile, it was taking the townsmen at least ten years to adjust to "frontier" conditions. Someone, at last, must have pointed out that the population was growing too large to be jammed into the small church and that the Indians presented a serious danger. This lack of foresight may seem startling to those architectural historians who love to give the term "planned community" to early New England towns, but the truth is that the English countryman was bound by custom and had rarely experienced either a rapid rise in town population, or attack by heathen savages. Had the men followed their Saxon ancestors, they might have built a walled borough, as the original Sudbury had been constructed, but the seventeenth-century Englishman had advanced centuries in the concept of law. The Sudbury, Massachusetts townsmen blithely made a deed of sale with their few Indian compatriots and then waited ten years, or more, before questioning the validity of their contractual relations.

In the winter of 1648-49, "in a publicke towne meet-

ing," the issues were raised, amid much debate. No one advanced, if one may read between the lines, any grandiose architectural structure to meet growing population and to serve as a military center. After much wrangling, to be sure, the easiest, cheapest, most expedient solution was voted: "that the meetinghouse shall be inlarged 13 foote at the end. . .& the inlargement is for a watch house allsoe."[47]

Within a week there were strong objections. Someone, perhaps the Reverend Mr. Brown, pointed out that as long as work was to be done on the church, the design should be symmetrical and should improve the appearance of the building. The town, while agreeing that the church should be "made handsome," would not stand the extra expense! Only when the minister agreed to contribute £1 would the town budge. Furthermore, the warnings of Indian dangers seem to have been overruled, insofar as architectural design was concerned. The resultant town votes neatly condense the whole dispute:

> It is agreed by the towne that the meetinghouse shall be enlarged by building ten foote out on the southside of it all the length of the meetinge house, to be built with two gable ends in the front, and Mr. Browne doth promise to give twenty shillings towarde the worke, the former order for enlargeing the meetinghouse at the northwest is hereby repealed.
>
> It is allsoe ordered that the backside of the meeting house shall be mended and made handsome.[48]

Neither the deacons nor the selectmen made any move to carry out the order in the next two years. A customary slowness of life existed in Sudbury, and the roads and bridges still occupied a predominant place in public expenditure of time and money. Finally, just before the winter of 1650-51, money was at last voted for a few church repairs, it being "ordered that the decons shall mend the meetinghouse & make it comfortable. . ."[49] Within one more year the faction demanding rebuilding forced the town to decide, once and for all, on the issue, "A publicke towne meeting there being, which was warned for that purpose, It was agreed that the town should bee at charge to build a new meeting house, 25 voted for the building, 14 on the contrary wise."[50]

The total of 39 votes represented only about 41% of the total adult males in Sudbury (freemen and non-freemen), and in the next two months the conservative, anti-building faction rallied support and determined to pack the town meeting. The result is clearly stated, "The towne in a publicke towne meeting did repeal all the orders formerly made for the enlargement of the old meeting house & for a new meetinghouse & to be of noe good."[51]

Recognizing the insoluble problem of the rapid growth in population, while ignoring any pleas for a watch house or fort, the conservatives agreed on a thoroughly English compromise, "It is allsoe ordered by the towne that Edmund Rice, Senior, Wm. Browne, John Ruddocke and Henry Rice, they four shall desire the pastor's approbation to build galleries in the old meeting house. . ."[52]

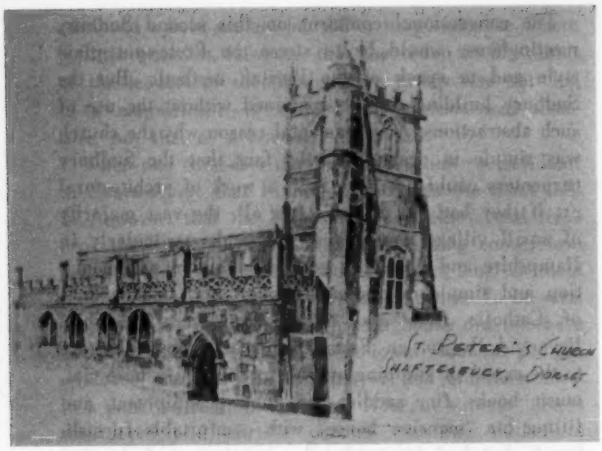
Although Rutter had put "cross dorments" in the ends of the first frame for just such a purpose, many townsmen must have objected to being shoved up under the thatch, while they specifically demanded some sort of fortress against possible Indian attack. The conservatives would not yield. It took one year before the building faction forced the following law, "It is agreed that the meetinghouse shall be made use of for a watch house until further orders be made by the towne."[53]

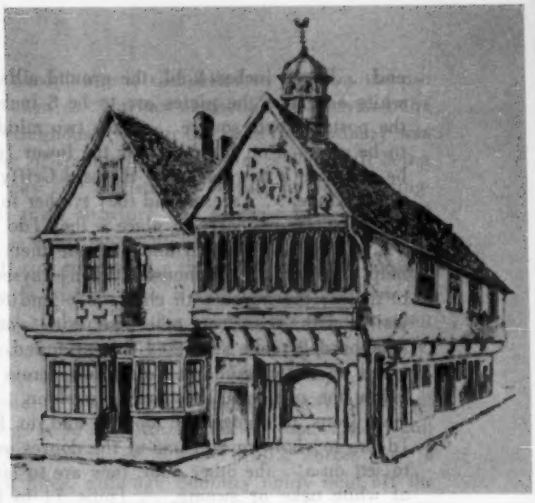
While the conservatives were willing to pay five shillings for every new "string peece" and six shillings "for every rayle" in extensive bridge repairs, no money was forthcoming either for the church or for defense against the Indians.[54]

The pro-building group must have been extraordinarily active during the summer and fall of 1652. At long last they marshalled support, called "a publicke towne meeting warned for that purpose" and actually pushed through a contract which not only put three carpenters to work but committed the town to an expense of about £85, at least ten times the money spent on the first meeting house.[55]

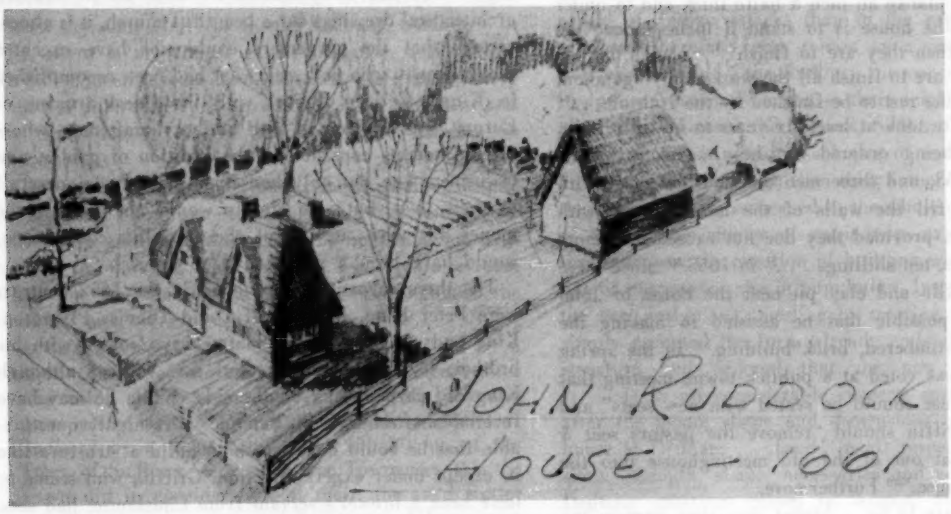
To historians used to the "typical" seventeenth-century New England church, the Sudbury building may come as somewhat of a shock. But it is thoroughly in character with the town, individualistic and definitely mediaeval. Luckily, the contract is very specific:

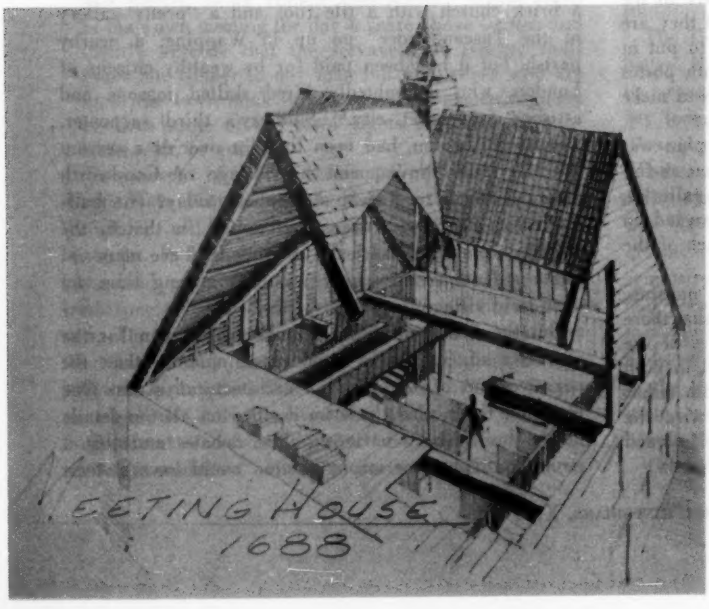
> In a publicke towne meeting warned for that purpose, the agreement here following. . .[was made] between the inhabitants of Sudbury on the one part. . .[and] Thomas Plympton & Peter Kinge on the other parte, the. . .said Plympton and Kinge do covenant for their parte to build. . .[a meeting house] for the inhabitants which shall be forty foote longe and twe[nty foote] wide, measuring from outside to outside, twelve foote be [tweene the joynte], the studds 6 inches & 4 inches to stand for a 4 foote clapboard to. . .there is to bee 4 transom windows, 5 foote wide & six foote [high, two]. . .of them in the foreside & one at each end, 2 gable ends [in]. . .the foreside to answere the height & leingth of the house & pinacles both at each end, each gable; with a clear story [in] each end & in each gable, each window 4 foote wide & 3 foote [high]. . .with sufficient dorments a cross the house fitt for galleries if the town hath. . .a desire afterwards to sett up galleries, they are to make 2 d[oors] 3 foote & a halfe wide, nayled diamond fashion, the house is to [be]. . .purlyned, 2 beames & across the house to be brased at each





Moot Hall
Sudbury, England

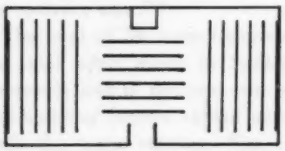




end. . .by 10 inches & 14, the ground sills are to be white oake & a the plates are to be 8 inches square, the posts a foote square. . .& the two middle beames to be smothed on three sides & the lower [side]. . .to be run with a bowkell; they the said Griffyn, Plympton & Kinge, . . .[are to find the] tymber to fell, hew, saw, cart, frame, carry to place & they [do covenant] . . .to levell the ground and to finde them sufficient help to raise . . . [the house & when] raysed they are to inclose the house with claborde. . .and to lyne the inside with cedar or otherwise with good spruce [cla]bord & to be smoothed & overlapped, and to be lyned up to the windows. . .and then across the house below the purlynes, they are to purlyne. . .it up, to find irons to hange the doores and to hange the [doors to] bolt, to bolt one of the doores on inside & to sett on a. . .the other door, they are to lay sleepers of white oake or swamp. . . [pine ?] to floore the house with planke an inch & halfe thick and to under [pin] . . .the house is to stand 8 inches above the ground & then they are to finish . . . [all] but the seates, they are to finish all the worke. . .lyinge about the plates, the rest to be finished by the 16th of . . .[56]

The structure took at least six years to be fully built, twelve men being ordered "to help. . .to rayse the house" in 1653, and three men directed "to agree with somebody to fill the walls of the meetinghouse with tempered clay, provided they doe not exceed the summ of five pounds, ten shillings . . ." in 1655.[57] Since there was a brick kiln and clay pit near the house of John Rutter, it is possible that he assisted in making the church a half-timbered, brick building.[58] In the spring of 1655, "it was voted at a publick towne meeting that the meetinghouse should be seated with new seats" and that Hugh Griffin should "remove the pastors seat & the decons seat out of the old meetinghouse into the new meetinghouse."[59] Furthermore,

> The seates are to be. . .higher than they were in the old house and six seates at e[ach end] and they are to make them of sufficient timber &. . .for to put in them boardes of either oake or spruce. . .with postes and rayles and benches of oake. . . they are to make the hindermost seat as the rest of the seates.[60]



The floor plan was to be somewhat as follows, with the galleries, finally constructed in 1658, over each of the ends:

> At a town meeting, voted, . . . that there shall be stayres made into both the galleryes of the meeting house & allso flowers [floors] layd in both galleries and also in each gallery a front with either a rayle & well-turned banisters or other wise the said fronts to be done & made with well-planed boards, this to be at the towne's charge . . .[61]

The conventional comment on this second Sudbury meetinghouse would be to stress the Protestant plain style and to speak of the Puritan aesthetic. But the Sudbury building can be explained without the use of such abstractions. A fundamental reason why the church was simple in design was the fact that the Sudbury carpenters could not have built a work of architectural art if they had wanted to. After all, the vast majority of small village churches in England, particularly in Hampshire and Wiltshire, are still plain in ornamentation and simple in design, although built in the days of Catholic faith and of mediaeval craftsmanship. Reverend Brown, an Emmanuel man, enjoyed culture to the extent of shipping over a fine library, a base viol, music books, fine saddles and hunting equipment, and filling his "mansion house" with comfortable furnishings.[62] But had he produced a whole set of detailed architectural drawings for a beautiful church, it is almost certain that the carpenters could not have executed them. Brown, who had seen what had been accomplished in King's College Chapel with the finest artisans of Europe, was confronted with Sudbury craftsmen, whose artistic heights consisted in the addition of gables, and townsmen who not only had lived among plainness all of their lives, but who simply would not advance the money for what, to any of their English countrymen, would have been a prerogative of the rich.

The three carpenters mentioned in the 1652 contract were Peter King, Hugh Griffin and Thomas Plympton. King had emigrated from Shaftesbury, Dorset, with his brother, Thomas, a butcher. Both men farmed, although King did carpentering on the side. While he may have revered Shaftesbury's St. Peter's,[63] it is highly questionable that he could have begun to build a structure like it, except under expert direction. Griffin, who seems to have been a brewer's servant from Limehouse, had seen a brick church with a tile roof and a "pretty gallery of the Tuscan order" go up in Wapping, a nearby parish, but it had been paid for by wealthy citizens of London, who undoubtedly hired skilled masons and artisans from that city.[64] Sudbury's third carpenter, Thomas Plympton, had been brought over as a servant by Mr. Peter Noyes, and his village of Goodworth Clatford has a mediaeval atmosphere today. The half-timbered or stone cottages are buried in thatch, the church is plainly constructed of flints, and the manorial estate still dominates what was, for a long time, an open-field village.[65]

But there is a much more important reason for the character of Sudbury's second meetinghouse than the negative one of the lack of architectural skills. One must not forget that the town decided on all the details of the building by various public debates and that a strong individual or strong faction could have at least

advanced a bold design, had he or they wished to. There is little question, however, that the vision in the minds of the leaders of the pro-building group was not that of a magnificent—or even plain—ecclesiastical structure, but that of a borough moot hall.

When one considers that King had known a guildhall in Shaftesbury, that Plympton had seen the moot hall in Andover, that the Parmenters and others had lived near the Sudbury moot hall,[66] the striking comparison between the second meetinghouse and an English moot hall becomes more than a mere coincidence. To be sure, the Sudbury, Massachusetts meetinghouse did not have two sets of market stalls on the lower floor, as did the Andover one, nor did any mayor and aldermen meet in a panelled room in the upper floor, or witness "divers disordered and unrulie persons resorting thither to playes of enterludes & other plays heretofore. . .acted within the same Hall" as in old Sudbury, Suffolk.[67] In fact, there is an almost exact similarity between the Sudbury meetinghouse and the early fifteenth-century house of John A'Port (who was a leading merchant and six times mayor of the borough) still standing in Salisbury.

The atmosphere of the frontier meetinghouse, despite its later use as a fortress, is that of a "townhouse" or hall where public meetings could be held, not that of a temple of worship. This becomes even more evident when one realizes that in this new meetinghouse the Sudbury men were passing such votes:

> At a town meeting the third of January 1658 by a ioynt consent of the towne of Sudbury, Henry Rice was voted a free townsman. . . Allsoe the day and yeare above written John Rutter and John Rediat of Sudbury by a ioynt vote of the inhabitants of the Town of Sudbury were made free Townsmen, this the Town did in consideration of their, the sayd Rutter and Rediat, being antient inhabitants. Allsoe voted in the Town meeting the day & yeare above written and ioyntly agreede that the servayers of tymber shall grant noe timber to any man but unto those who are upon the town book in record as Townsmen reputed, or have some of the town rights by virtue of purchase, gift, or grant.[68]

The concept of a free townsman implied in this law is strikingly similar to that of a free burgess so well known in old Sudbury, Suffolk and other English boroughs. In both cases a select group of men within a town held governmental and economic privileges and from time to time elevated others to this honored position. The qualifications demanded included loyalty to the town, wealth and ability, but not commitment to religious principles. When one learns that the townsmen had not only deprived the minister of a certain large parcel of meadow, but had also told him, bluntly, to "stop meddling" in town governmental affairs at about this time,[69] one is compelled to question the use of such a term as "Puritan aesthetic" in analyzing the second meetinghouse. Given the facts that Sudbury was not a center of trade, and that the taxes were still being levied to pay the minister to lecture in the meetinghouse, this town structure was as close to a mediaeval moot hall as conditions would allow.

It is difficult to condense the following three decades of Sudbury's history into a few paragraphs, but for reasons best analyzed in other articles, the staunch, albeit conservative, independence of town spirit waned steadily. Men like Ruddock left to found Marlborough, or Lancaster, building their homes as they always had, but establishing large farmsteads rather than closely-knit towns.[70] The attack of King Philip's forces was a devastating blow, although Sudbury nobly held off the attackers in several important fights. Perhaps more afraid of Indian attacks than in the previous generation, and therefore more reliant on a central organization and authority, the Sudbury townsmen did not rise to oppose Governor Andros, as their neighbors in Watertown did. Whatever the reasons, Sudbury's second generation apparently had less hopes of making the town an independent borough than their fathers had had, and they became more enmeshed in the whole commonwealth of towns. This change of spirit helps explain the third meetinghouse, the question of building which was again one of unexpected rise in population. Instead of arguing the new design out, meeting by meeting, the townsmen simply accepted the form already embodied in another structure and ordered that the new meetinghouse, ". . . is in all considerable respects concluded to bee after the moad, shape and demensions of the meeting house at Dedham . . .[and] in all respects for demensions, strength, shape, necessaries and conveniences as Dedham meeting house is, except filling between studds. . ."[71]

The Dedham carpenters were hired, and construction began. But the Sudbury townsmen were too accustomed to wrangling over their public architecture to be silent for long, and meeting after meeting was absorbed in discussing the details. The first debate was to determine whether the building was to be square or not, and the affirmative side ultimately triumphed. The second debate was between four gables and two, turning on the cost of the extra gables, as opposed, one surmises, to the symmetry and general handsomeness of four. In what had become the traditional manner, a group of townsmen contributed the extra money out of their pockets, and everyone seemed satisfied. The placing of the stairs to the three galleries seems to have been an important issue, while all agreed that the meetinghouse should have a bell.

Other than these minor contributions, the Sudbury

men added little to the Dedham design. Important attitudes had changed in the town during the passage of fifty years. There was less necessity that the coastal meetinghouses serve as fortresses as well, and the designers were breaking away from the mediaeval house as a basic structure. The Dedham church, whitewashed inside as were village churches in England, had an interior lightness and feeling of space, helped by a greater use of glass than heretofore, which gave it the sense of a large hall, where the sun streamed in through the windows during sermons and meetings.

The Sudbury building, however borrowed in design, architecturally expressed the amazing growth away from the concepts which had dominated the minds of the first settlers. Capped by a "Terat" with a bell of "good Spanish Iyoron," the third church had "240 feet" of glass, three galleries and stairs, cedar clapboards, shingles instead of thatch for roofing, and cost the town the huge sum of £200.[72]

This expansion both in size and architectural concept from the second church to the third was parallel with attempts to expand individual land-holding and with experimentation in form of government. The severe limitations which century-old custom had imposed on the whole form of town life in the first generation had become somewhat relaxed, and the Sudbury men of the 1680's were introducing changes in their town which represented a conscious break with English civilization, inconceivable to their fathers. The tearing down of the old church to build a new one was an indication that, as the old timbers crashed to the ground, so did much of the fabric of mediaeval Sudbury.

The vision in the minds of the men of 1686, however formed by an awareness of new conditions in other towns, was profoundly disturbing to many. Those men, clinging to the strength of custom, to life as it had been lived "time out of mind" felt "utterly excluded . . . from having any part or share" in the new life, as they later cried in a struggle over a seizure of the common land.[73] But the new currents of thought were stronger than the old, and mediaeval Sudbury heard its doom tolled in the bell of the third church, a doom so thorough that only scrawls on faded paper help give us the atmosphere and the meaning of centuries of heritage.

(HARVARD UNIVERSITY)

1. There is now a considerable bulk of records available in England for similar comparative studies.

2. Since this article is not concerned with genealogy, documentary evidence for the places of origin and emigration of the Sudbury men will be deferred to the forthcoming study of "The English Background, Rise and Settlement of Sudbury (1638-1706)."

3. Manor of Ramridge Court Rolls: Court Baron, 1637. (MSS in Bodleian Library, Oxford University.) Papers in Cases Before the County Court of Middlesex County, 1649-1663 (Harvard Law School Library).

4. I realize the impossibility, in this short space, of making generalizations about English boroughs in the seventeenth century and their relation to the central government and must save any detailed analysis for other investigations more concerned with government, law and trade in the early New England towns. Suffice to say that despite the strength of national organization in England, the desire for chartered boroughs was still strong in many areas.

5. The Stone family had moved from Great Bromley to Nayland, Suffolk before John's birth, but it is possible that John returned to Great Bromley before emigrating.

6. Both lists of items, which are not complete in either case, are extracted from the Great Bromley Churchwardens' Account Book, 1625-40.

7. Borough of Andover, Hants: Muniments (MSS).

8. An item for 1622 in the Borough Chamberlain's Accounts reads: "Item. Cutting the other [timber] for fether edge bords 300 att 20d: 0/5/0." (Andover Muniments.)

9. Sudbury Town Records, 1638-1706; as transcribed and edited by S. C. Powell (MSS), p. 2. Land valuation as of 1646: *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78. These were Sudbury's assessments on the value of land, which values differed from those in Watertown. See *Records of the Town Proceedings, Watertown* (Watertown, 1894), I, 14.

10. Some few individuals, mostly East Anglians like Cakebread, were granted large enough acreages to be considered farms. But it is significant that the Suffolk men in Sudbury, Massachusetts, were from West Suffolk, where open-field farming was still prevalent in the very early seventeenth century. The accompanying map section is taken from the Sudbury, Massachusetts map (c. 1650) which was reconstructed from the Sudbury Records, old maps, and local investigation. Much help was given by Mr. Forrest Bradshaw, the Town Clerk, Mr. Pettigrew, Surveyor, and Dr. J. P. Bill of Wayland. Numbers have been assigned to all "first settlers": P. Noyes, No. 46; W. Pelham, No. 28; John Parmenter, Sr., No. 22; Belcher, No. 47; Pendleton, No. 35; Stone, No. 32, etc. Only the first assignment of strips of river meadow (the grey area next to Sudbury River) has been numbered. More "General planting fields" were added to the first North and South Field, but without much question all were divided up into strips and farmed in common. Although the initial lack of equipment and the difficulties of adjusting to new farming conditions demanded group farming (see: "An Essay on Ordering Towns" in *Winthrop Papers* [Mass. Hist. Soc., 1943] III, pp. 181-185: written c. 1635) the Sudbury men, unlike their East Anglian neighbors in Watertown, maintained an open-field system for most of the seventeenth century. The small upland parcels on the west side of the river were individually-managed crofts.

11. William Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (London, 1634) (Boston, 1898) p. 41.

12. Compare the Cambridge Map in *The Records of the Town of Cambridge, Mass.* (1630-1703) (Cambridge, 1901), and Speed's map of Ipswich, as in John Wodderspoon, *Memorials of the Ancient Town of Ipswich* (Ipswich, 1850) and elsewhere.

13. Although we are having the early map of Watertown redrawn for its entire area, see Dr. Henry Bond's map in F. Robinson, R. Wheeler, *Great Little Watertown* (Watertown, 1930); compare John Walker's map of Chelmsford, Essex, 1591, partially reproduced in *The Art of the Map Maker in Essex* (Essex Record Office Publication No. 4 [1947]).

14. Sudbury Records, p. 94. This large area was on the west side of the River below West Brook. (See section of Sudbury map, 1650.)

15. Andover Muniments; View of Frank Pledge, Out Hundred; Weyhill Churchwardens' Records; Ramridge Manor: Court Baron Roll.

16. Sudbury Records, p. 3.

17. Perhaps Mr. Peter Noyes may serve as an example: While he continued to keep land worth £300 in the parish of Foxcott, Hants, he sold, in 1639, his copyhold property in Penton Grafton: three cottages, twenty acres in the common fields and one acre of

meadow (Court Baron Roll: 1639). Upon arrival in Sudbury, he was granted, in the first few years: an 8-acre house-lot, 38 acres of meadow, land in north and south common fields, and 53 acres in a "great field" in the southwest part of Sudbury's tract.

18. Sudbury Records, p. 31 (1642). It is apparent by a very clear order in 1654 that for many townsmen, their only "evidences" for land were "as they have recorded in the towne booke," a type of title very similar to "by copy of the Court Roll" (Sudbury Records, p. 111. Ramridge Court Baron Roll, 1639: P. Noyes).

19. *Records of the Town of Cambridge*, p. 10, (1634-35).

20. Sudbury Records, p. 13 (1640).

21. *Ibid.*, p. 17 (1640-41).

22. *Ibid*, p. 13. Perambulation of 1640.

23. *Ibid*, p. 55 (1644).

24. M. S. Briggs, *The Homes of the Pilgrim Fathers in England and in America* (1620-1685) (London, 1932). The Sudbury men, and I suspect others, were not prone to change their building habits in the early years, regardless of other carpenters or of New England conditions.

25. See accompanying sketch of Cook's Cottage, Clanville, Hants, a sixteenth-century structure still standing today in Rutter's old parish of Weyhill. The Wiltshire cottages in the areas from which the Sudbury men emigrated are mainly of stone and thatched.

26. See accompanying sketch of a barn in the hamlet of Sutton Mandeville, Wilts, "hundreds of years old," according to the present owners.

27. View of Frank Pledge, Andover Out-Hundred: Andover Muniments (Hants).

28. Lease quoted in Alfred S. Hudson, *The History of Sudbury, Mass.* (Sudbury, 1889), pp. 80-81. See the sketch of the Rice house and barn, c. 1650.

29. Sudbury set minimum wages "for all carpenters, bricklayers, and thatchers" in 1641 at 21d a day (Sudbury Records, p. 21). The Andover wages for carpenters were 12d per day. (See list of items for Andover prison, above.)

30. Undoubtedly the insides of the chimneys were daubed with cow dung, a cement still used in Hampshire. The Sudbury houses had cellars, as did houses in the borough of Andover, Hants. (Stearns MSS in Goodnow Library, Sudbury.)

31. Sudbury Records, p. 28. Beech either refused to build the bridge or could not successfully span the width of what was considered "the Great River." A more specific contract was given to T. Hawkins, of Watertown, for a bridge "5 rod longe & 12 feet wide." The "Arches" were to be 12 feet wide, "all but the middle arch which is to be 14 foot wide," the "stilts" 16 inches square by 26 feet, the posts 16 inches square, the braces 8 inches square; the bridge was to have "a rail on each side, and the rayle must be braced at every post [and] the planke must be . . . 2 inches thick sawn; there must be 5 braces for the planke . . . the braces 12 inches square." The bridge was to be "framed and raysed" within eight months and was to cost £13 (Sudbury Records, p. 42). I have found little mention of bridge construction in the English records of the areas from which the men came, except the following in the *Boston Assembly Book*, 1627: "At this Assembly it was agreed that the Chamberlaines of this Burrough shall forthwith lay upp all the frame of the bridge in the wast place of ground neare Mr. Jenkins house & shall cover it with straw thatch soe as may preserve it from wett and damage." (*Assembly Book*, Boston, Lincs: MSS) p. 219 recto.

32. Sudbury Records, p. 28.

33. This is made clear in the land dispute of 1655-58, analysis of which is beyond the scope of this article. (MSS depositions in Mass. Archives).

34. Sudbury Records, p. 34. Note that the townsmen paid £13 for their bridge and only the niggardly sum of £6 for their church!

35. A. N. Garvan, "The Protestant Plain Style Before 1630," *JSAH*, IX (3) (October, 1950) 5-12.

36. See accompanying sketch, made from early nineteenth-century drawings and the present Weyhill church. The church was small and narrow, nave and chancel being approximately 63 feet x 13 feet. Only the Nonconformists seemed to question the century-old tradition of paying for "the waxe" (candles), while all the parish paid for a new bell in 1627 (Weyhill Churchwardens' Accounts).

37. See accompanying sketch, made from the 1642 contract, above.

38. Sudbury raised its cattle, however, after the fashion of an open-field community, refusing to acknowledge, or ignoring, the "progress" of the East Anglians, who, in coastal towns, were turning to individual care of livestock on various farms (Middlesex County Court Papers).

39. Sudbury Records, pp. 57, 63.

40. At least, according to his will (Middlesex Probate Court).

41. Sudbury Records, p. 65 (1645-46).

42. The continual use of the bridge of Sudbury's town herd of approximately 300 to 500 head of cattle undoubtedly helped to deteriorate the structure.

43. Sudbury Records, p. 56. 44. *Ibid.*, p. 90. 45. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 101 (November, 1652). 47. *Ibid.*, p. 83. 48. *Ibid.*, p. 84. 49. *Ibid.*, p. 90. 50. *Ibid.*, p. 96. 51. *Ibid.*, p. 98. 52. *Ibid.*, p. 98. 53. *Ibid.*, p. 101 (August, 1652).

54. Of course the town militia was trained and some powder and bullets purchased, but the individuals, rather than the town, bore the responsibility and most of the costs.

55. The right edge of the surviving original document is torn away, and one must guess at the missing words.

56. Sudbury Records, pp. 102-103. See accompanying sketch. The windows in the sketch were placed high because of the phrase "lyned up to the windows . . . and then across the house below the purlynes" and because the house was to serve as a "watch house." It was palisaded at the time of King Philip's War. The "bowkell" referred to was a bugle and bead moulding.

57. *Ibid.*, pp. 105, 108.

58. *Ibid.* Stearns MSS in Goodnow Library, Sudbury.

59. Sudbury Records, p. 119.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

62. According to his will and the attached inventory (Middlesex Probate Court).

63. See accompanying sketch of St. Peter's Church in Shaftesbury, Dorset.

64. Norman C. Brett-James, *The Growth of Stuart London* (London, 1935) p. 195.

65. There is a splendid open-field map of Goodworth Clatford and environs, made in 1725, in the Hampshire Record Office, Winchester.

66. See the accompanying sketch of the Sudbury hall. This was the seventeenth-century structure, with some modifications. Butchers' stalls were on the ground floor.

67. Andover muniments; Sudbury Town Book (Order of 1607).

68. Sudbury Records, p. 131.

69. Depositions in the Massachusetts Archives, c. 1655-56.

70. See accompanying sketch of Ruddock's new house in Marlborough, c. 1661. The normal house-lot contained a barn, orchard, garden and an outhouse. Details from *Colonial Records of Marlborough, Mass.* (New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1909) pp. 12-13.

71. Sudbury Records, 213-214. Unfortunately the Dedham townsmen let their carpenters do the work with little interference, and references to the building are disappointingly meagre: *The Early Records of the Town of Dedham, Mass.* (1672-1706) (Boston, 1899) V, 4-5, 14, 93, 157, 375.

72. Sudbury Records, pp. 214, 216, 217, 226, 261. See the accompanying sketch of the building, somewhat suggestive because of the lack of details in the town book.

73. Massachusetts Archives: Depositions of 1708.

W. KNIGHT STURGES, A.I.A., is Senior Reference Librarian at Avery Library, Columbia University. Readers will remember his valuable essay on "The Long Shadow of Norman Shaw," a discussion of the literary evidence of the Queen Anne influence on America, in the December, 1950 JOURNAL. *This study of Blondel in a similar manner returns to source books for the refreshment of new meaning and interest.*

JACQUES-FRANÇOIS BLONDEL

The encyclopedic writings of Jacques-François Blondel on the buildings of eighteenth-century France and the principles which gave them their being, have often served as matter for quotation and illustration. It is seldom, however, that Blondel's immense output as an author, the comparatively small body of his executed work, and his occasionally colorful life have been surveyed as a whole. Only one brief biography of him has appeared, that of Auguste Prost, antiquarian and public-spirited citizen of Metz, who in 1859 came to Blondel's defense when his work in that city was threatened by the flood tide of Gothic restoration.

Prost's admiration for Blondel's work was unusual, for Blondel was indeed a typical product of the eighteenth century. He represents the critical attitude of his age toward architecture in much the same way that Voltaire and d'Alembert represent it toward philosophy and science. Like them, he possessed a high degree of ability to make complicated subjects seem clear through the agency of a straightforward, simple prose style. Like them, he is also a populariser of his subject. In the preface of the *Architecture françoise* he states: "I have used simple terms and a popular style with the intention of being understood by layman and artist alike, having noticed that the majority of recent books about architecture are either badly organized or over long."[1]

Jacques-François bore a name already distinguished in the annals of French architecture, but although exact details of his background are lacking, he seems not to have been related to the earlier François. Born in Rouen in 1705, he studied under another Blondel, Jean-François, an architect of Rouen, who was apparently his uncle. As a pupil he seems to have attained no distinction. In 1726 he went to Paris to live in obscurity for ten years, and then for the greater part of the remainder of his life he devoted his energies to teaching, writing, and exhorting his pupils to perfect themselves in the many branches of their art.

Blondel married Marie-Anne Garnier by whom he had one son, Georges-François, and one daughter, Claudine-Angélique. In 1738, already known as an engraver, he published his first book, *De la Distribution des maisons de plaisance et de la décoration des édifices en général.* The year following he received a commission for thirteen plates to represent the *fêtes* in honor of the marriage of Madame Elisabeth of France with Dom Philippe of Spain. In 1743, at the age of thirty-eight, he obtained the sanction of the Academy of Architecture to open his school, for which he became renowned; and it is at this period that Blondel's great productivity as a writer and teacher begins. Blondel's public lectures, which form the substance of his teaching, are embodied for us in the six volumes of the *Cours d'architecture,* the last two volumes of which were continued after his death by his pupil, Patte. To supplement the teaching given in his school he gave two series of public lectures, the first between 1743 and 1748, the second in 1754. The latter were divided into three groups — elementary, theoretical, and practical. The last, for working men, were given on Sundays.

In 1755 Blondel's first wife died. In the same year he was elected to the Academy of Architecture. Three years previously he had published the first of that great folio series variously known as the *Architecture françoise* or the *Grand Blondel,* projected in eight volumes, an unparalleled compendium of the great buildings of his day. Only four of these were to appear, between the years 1752-56.

In 1760, Blondel, already fifty-five and a widower for five years, married Marie-Madelaine (Manon) Baletti, a young girl of twenty whose family had introduced none other than Jacques Casanova to Parisian society. That Marie-Madelaine was not only deeply in love with Casanova, but what was a much rarer occurrence in the life of that gentleman, actually affianced to him, we know from the correspondence that passed between them. Whatever it was, whether prudence or pique or a mixture of both, or still something else, that made her marry instead the already aging and querulous, if now distinguished, academician, remains in the realm

of fascinating conjecture. Casanova has left us his own picture of the Blondel *ménage* at this period, a picture full of such pique that we can hardly believe he was happy to lose his fiancée, though such a man's vanity could scarcely imagine any woman he had ever favored as happy with another man.[2] In 1764 a second son, Jean-Baptiste, was born. Like that of his half brother, his name is also recorded in the annals of French architecture.

The year after his marriage (1760), through the influence of the Duc de Choiseul, Jacques-François was summoned to Metz; and it is here that, as far as can be ascertained today, his only surviving executed works are to be seen. Through the agency of the same nobleman in 1764, Blondel was commissioned to draw up a master plan for the cities of Strasbourg and Cateau Cambresis, both of which projects remained largely in the paper stage. These and other projects of a like nature were to have appeared in the final volumes of the *Architecture françoise*. Accordingly, our knowledge of this phase of Blondel's work is somewhat fragmentary. It is to Blondel's teachings, then, not to his executed work, that we must turn if we are to appraise his real contribution. The *Maisons de plaisance* and the plates for the *fêtes* reveal Blondel to us first of all as a competent engraver with a pronounced architectural sense. In his plates of the *fêtes*, Blondel is as concerned with the means by which the *décor* is produced as he is with the scenic value of the settings themselves. In the plate showing the great ball held in the *Hôtel de ville*, his sectional views are complete in all details. Blondel's first independent publication, *Maisons de plaisance*, reveals him as a competent architect whose work exemplifies the main characteristics of his time. Although Blondel was to become one of the leaders in the return to a stricter classicism, the *Maisons de plaisance* still reflects the chief characteristics of Louis XV architecture—minimizing the use of the orders on the exteriors and relying for effects of proportion on string courses, panels, and simple channeled treat-

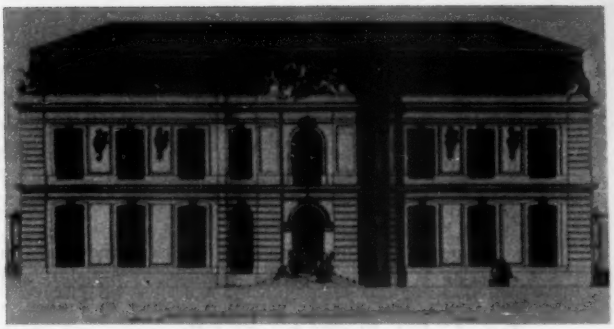


FIG. 1. A characteristic garden elevation rom the *Maisons de Plaisance*. A simple exterior which relies on string courses, panels and simple channeled treatments for architectural effect.

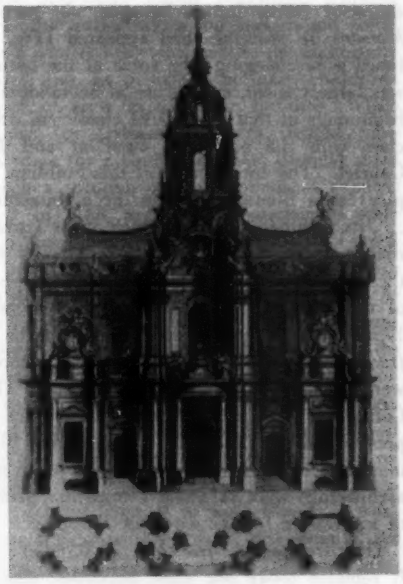


FIG. 2. Meissonnier and Servandoni. West elevations for Saint-Sulpice.

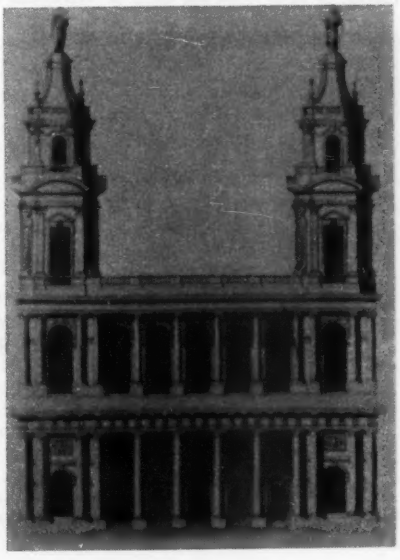
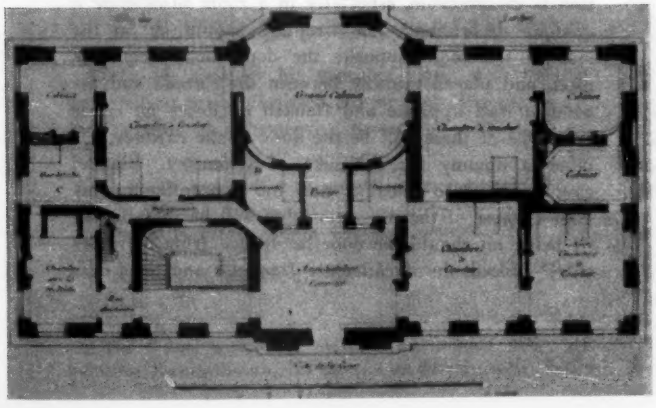


FIG. 3. Comfort and convenience combined with a highly formal type of planning. A plan of the principal floor of the elevation shown in Fig. 1.



ments. Although he was to criticize such men as Meissonnier and Oppenord for their *ornemens frivoles*, which had become the fashion, especially for interiors, Blondel's ornaments, even if not altogether *frivoles*, are still mainly composed of rococo garlands and bombée forms, very much in the rococo idiom (Fig. 1).

However, the purer classicism which Blondel was to advocate in the pages of the *Architecture françoise* and the *Cours*, had already gained a footing in France, a fact of which Blondel became fully aware, and which is attested by his appreciation for Servandoni's design of 1732 for the west front of Saint-Sulpice. This had been adopted in preference to Meissonnier's rococo reminiscence of North Italian baroque, six years before the *Maisons de plaisance* had appeared (Fig. 2). Already times were changing; the force of the baroque in Italy was largely spent, and we see in Servandoni's façade the beginnings of that Louis XVI classicism which we associate with the names of Soufflot and Jacques-Ange Gabriel. "The entire merit of this building," (Saint-Sulpice) says Blondel, "lies in the architecture itself and . . . its greatness of scale, which opens a practically new road to our French architects."[3] Already what we call the style of Louis XVI was well developed by the middle of the century. Gabriel's *École militaire* was begun in 1751, a year before the first volume of the *Architecture françoise* appeared. The Place de la Concorde Buildings were begun in 1753, the Petit Trianon in 1762. Héré de Corny was at work at Nancy in the same period. The presence of such examples indicates that Blondel's writings reflect with fair accuracy those tendencies which in architecture were to make France the principal source of inspiration for the whole of Europe.

The *Architecture françoise* is Blondel's great work. It remains today our most important single source of information on the great edifices of Paris and environs. Book One sets forth the author's approach. Blondel's teachings stem from the texts of Vitruvius, from Alberti, Vignola, Serlio, and his earlier namesake, François Blondel, and contain within their well-defined limits that curious fusion of practical and esthetic values which characterizes Vitruvius and all the great Renaissance treatises—a tradition which deemed these qualities as much suited to one age as to another. Accordingly, Blondel's thesis, built on the accumulated experience of several centuries, is by no means revolutionary. Indeed he is sometimes too finite, too sure of himself, as when he is dealing with that esthetic imponderable, *le goût*. For instance, let us consider what he means by this cornerstone of French esthetic judgment. Defined as "the judgment we make about those things which are not subject to fixed rules or capable of being clearly demonstrated,"[4] it falls into two general subdivisions—personal taste, which cannot be defined; and acquired taste, which is the outcome of the use of reason. Accordingly, "a building will be generally pleasing both to the connoisseur and the man in the street (*et aux vulgaires*) when its elements are united in such a way as to reduce the whole to a kind of unity (*similitude*) which satisfies our reason."[5] This kind of rationalism characterizes much of Blondel's esthetic theory.[6]

Fig. 4. Blondel's entrance portal to Metz Cathedral. Removed in 1898.

Distribution comes second in Blondel's hierarchy of values. His thinking on this subject reflects that fusion of a highly formal type of planning with the increasing interest in comfort and convenience which characterized the time (Fig. 3). Unconsciously he gives us an amazingly intimate picture of a social order very different from our own—one which, on occasion, carried its emphasis on universal symmetry to extremes. In this order the practical exigencies are strictly subordinated; much space is devoted to planning a series of state apartments in *enfilade*. Much thought is given to the varying character of those antechambers which played so important a role in the social life of the period, and little or none to the lodging of the numerous servants who made this life possible.[7] The correct proportions of the state bedroom are treated in great detail. Such a room must be deeper than it is wide. The width must equal the distance from the *estrade*, or raised platform, on which the bed was set, to the windows. These windows must be directly opposite the bed, never elsewhere, since any other situation is disagreeable, especially in a room *susceptible à quelque décoration*.[8] The fireplace should be on the side of the room opposite the door most frequently used, and placed midway between the *estrade* and the window wall opposite and flanked by doors on either side. One of these will be the door of the *enfilade*, the other a dummy for the sake of symmetry. Blondel cautions us not to place furniture too close to the dummy door because of the suggestion that will be imparted of its being hit should the door be opened from the other side![9] Indeed, the *Architecture françoise* and the *Cours*

abound in lengthy discussions of such minor refinements as these, refinements which reflect a spirit of *préciosité* so remote from our grim and earnest age as to be scarcely conceivable. Nevertheless, Frenchmen of two hundred years ago studied these and similar refinements with tireless energy and embodied them in an architecture whose outlines were generally noble and whose refinement of detail has been beyond the power of later generations to equal.

On the subject of furnishings, however, Blondel strikes a curiously modern note. In the eighteenth century, as in our own day, furniture was considered an integral part of the room for which, in many cases, it was specifically designed. "When one sells a house designed in the modern manner (*un hôtel bâtit à la modèrne*), the purchaser must also buy its furnishings and get rid of his own . . . This correspondence between the furnishings and the design of rooms is very agreeable, and no praise is too great for certain of our architects whose exquisite taste for this sort of thing, as well as for the general arrangement of rooms, attracts the curiosity of foreigners." Another interesting reference is to the wide use of slip covers. These are held in place by screws, *vis*, or *tourniquets*, in such fashion that materials are easily changed according to the season of the year. Indeed, it is no wonder that Voltaire considered that one of the chief purposes of art was to minister to this highly developed eighteenth-century sense of luxury.

J'aime le luxe, et même la mollesse,
Tous les plaisirs, les arts de toute espèce,
La propreté, le gôut, les ornements.[10]

Blondel's *Cours*, a six-volume work, which became the standard text of several generations of architectural students, embodies the pith and substance of his thought as it was expressed in his student lectures given over a period of thirty years. These discourses are often written in a forceful colloquial style with a warmth absent from the measured phraseology of the monumental *Architecture françoise*. It is in the crackling octavo pages of the *Cours* that we may still behold Blondel the teacher—forceful and penetrating, yet with a capacity for treating his subject in the most minute detail. The publication of the *Cours* was interrupted by Blondel's death in 1774 and, as mentioned earlier, the last two volumes which deal largely with construction are the work of his pupil, Patte.[11]

When we consider his executed work, it is natural to turn first to the fortified city of Metz, the site of all that remains of an extensive project to create a *Place d'Armes* on a restricted site and to remodel the approaches to the ancient cathedral. Blondel, in 1761, at the age of fifty-six, was commissioned to design a convent for an aristocratic religious foundation with which the Duc de Choiseul's sister was connected. Why this project, for which Blondel's published plans exist, came to nothing, is not clear; nor is it clear just how or when Blondel induced the cathedral chapter to consider completing the scheme of opening up the approaches to the cathedral which was already in progress. This involved the creation of a much needed *Place d'Armes* on a very restricted site on the south flank of the cathedral, the creation of a western portal and a site for a new bishop's palace and other public buildings. Working with a great Gothic cathedral in the background could not have been a wholly congenial task to the eighteenth-century theorist who, in principle, at least, could not admit a change of style in the same building. While Gabriel's towers for Orleans Cathedral would have served as precedent for a Gothic *pastiche*, Blondel shied away from such a solution on the grounds of expense and completed, in 1768, a front of monumental scale which reverted somewhat in spirit to the earlier French Renaissance by combining a Doric entablature with fluted Corinthianesque engaged columns (Fig. 4). At the same time the buildings to the south of the cathedral were proceeding, and in order to tie these in with the cathedral fabric, Blondel, in 1762, proposed a one-story arcade to run along the entire south façade. Completed in 1768, it was this portion of Blondel's project which aroused the ire of the Gothic revivalists and produced the defense and biography of Auguste Prost. However, this spirited attempt to save Blondel's work came to nought. The arcades began to disappear in the 1860's, their demolition was complete by 1882, and after the German occupation which followed the Franco-Prussian war, Blondel's monumental entrance itself was replaced in 1898 by the archeologically "correct" one we see today.

Nothing remains of Blondel's work in Metz save three sides of the Place d'Armes—building of refined detail, sober and somewhat reticent in character, but cramped by the spatial restrictions of a fortified town. His perception, knowledge, and above all, his zeal, enabled him to influence a whole generation of architects and to leave to the future through his writings alone one of the most comprehensive pictures of an architectural era that has ever been drawn.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

1. Jacques-François Blondel, *Architecture françoise* (Paris: Jombert, 1752-56), I, v.
2. Charles Samaran, *Jacques Casanova, vénitien* (Paris: Calman-Lévy, 1914), 206-211.
3. *Architecture françoise*, III, 40.
4. *Ibid.*, I, 23.
5. *Ibid.*, I, 24.
6. For further analysis of Blondel's architectural theory see Miloutine Borissavliévitch, *Les théories de l'architecture* (Paris: Payot, 1926), 88-96.
7. Sir Reginald Blomfield, *A History of French Architecture*, 1661-1774, (London: G. Bell, 1921), II, 8, 32.
8. *Architecture françoise*, I, 43.
9. *Ibid.*, I, 34.
10. Voltaire, "Le mondain," *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris: Garnier, 1877), X, 83.
11. Mae Mathieu, *Pierre Patte* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1940), 143-149.

ALAN GOWANS is an assistant professor at Rutgers University. This discussion of Notre-Dame is from a larger study he has made on the history of church architecture in the Province of Québec. Like the preceding article by W. Knight Sturges on Blondel, this serves as an important clue to the actual character of the French Renaissance tradition during its gradual dissolution in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as well as identifying the nature of the design of a particular church.

NOTRE-DAME DE MONTREAL

Notre-Dame, parish church of the City of Montréal, is not well enough recognized for the excellent example of Gothic revival building that it is. While its interior is mid- and late-nineteenth century in date, on the exterior Notre-Dame stands today as it was designed in 1823, an outstanding monument to the Gothic revival spirit of that era (Fig. 1). But too often it has been considered merely eccentric; even Québecois historians generally appear to regard its erection as a kind of inexplicable whimsy. Yet this is not the case. Actually, the church of Notre-Dame is not only an entirely logical product of the Québecois tradition of church architecture, but an admirable example of the factors involved in the overall Gothic revival movement as well.

Nineteenth-century architectural eclecticism began early in the Montréal region. Around Québec City the traditional architectural forms of New France were still strong at mid-century in the mature and final expression given them by Thomas Baillairgé. By the same time, however, eclecticism was entirely dominant in Montréal, all the various early eclectic styles being found, with Gothic the most popular. Both this early appearance of eclecticism in Montréal and the popularity of Gothic may be explained in terms of conditioning circumstances in that time and place. When New France was ceded to Britain in 1763 Québec City was, as it had always been, the most important centre. But during the first half of the nineteenth century the bulk of a heavy English-speaking immigration came to the vicinity of Montréal. As a result, Montréal grew faster, and by 1850 was definitely the leader. Nineteenth-century Montréal was therefore a more cosmopolitan place than Québec, and its architecture was correspondingly more up-to-date. In addition, racial tensions between French and English were far more acute in Montréal than in Québec, a fact which strengthened eclecticism with an urge for a definitive statement of Frenchness and Catholicism in the face of an English and Protestant challenge. These trends began to appear in the church architecture of Montréal late in the eighteenth century. Coincident with, and as a result of the first wave of English-speaking immigration following the Revolutionary War in the United States, there appeared in both the Montréal and Québec regions a tendency to ostentation and showiness in architecture. It was expressed primarily in the interior sculpture created by the Quévillon school of Montréal and the Baillairgé school of Québec, the forms of which recall so deliberately the rococo Louis XV style of France that one may aptly call the movement a "Royalist Revival." Of the two schools, that of Quévillon and his followers was the more lavish and the more long-lived; it persisted in provincial areas well past 1850. Quévillon's art was not eclectic, properly speaking, being as much a survival as a revival; but its conscious drawing upon an obsolete style already betrays a proto-eclectic spirit of romanticism.

The church of L'Acadie, built in the years 1800-1801, provides a good introduction to the architectural spirit of Montréal as the new century opened.[1] On the exterior, L'Acadie is perhaps the best extant example of the Conefroy plan, that extremely simple and colonial type of structure devised for purposes of standarization and economy by Abbé Pierre Conefroy of Boucherville (1752-1816) in the late eighteenth century.[2] But on the interior the ostentation and romanticism of the new century are already apparent. The altar and part of the sanctuary decoration were executed in the years 1802-1812 by Jean-Georges Finisterer, probably on designs furnished by the Quévillon atelier (Fig. 2). In the florid *rocaille* of that school there is a lavishness contrasting remarkably to the bare lines of the exterior. And a new spirit augmenting the historical reminiscences of the "Royalist Revival" is to be seen in the work of Louis-Daniel Finisterer, son of Jean, who carried the interior to completion in the years 1812-1825—little medallions with romantically-conceived landscapes, and flowing curves in choir loft and staircase (Fig. 3). The Finisterers were members of a Swiss colony lately settled in L'Aca-

die, which may account for features so advanced, at least for the time and place.

The positive stimulus to the appearance of true eclecticism in the church architecture of the Montréal area was provided, however, by the building activity of English-speaking Protestants, particularly as represented in Christ Church, Montréal. Built in 1805 as a parish church for the Anglicans of Montréal, Christ Church was only slightly smaller than Notre-Dame, the old parish church of Montréal, and much more impressive.[3] Notre-Dame, fondly known as *La Paroisse*, had been begun in 1672, and a wealth of tradition was attached to it. But the old church had crude artisan outlines; its single tower was squat, with an ill-proportioned clocher, and its façade—designed in 1722—was never adequately completed. Comparing this to the sophisticated English Palladian style of Christ Church—*retardataire*, it is true, but very ambitious—the Canadiens felt humiliated; and when the new spire of the Anglican church was completed in 1818, two hundred and four feet from the ground, Old Notre-Dame was quite eclipsed (Fig. 4). Such an affront to Canadien prestige in Montréal could not long be tolerated, and steps were immediately taken to correct it. In this same year—1818—the long-contemplated scheme for a thoroughgoing restoration of Old Notre-Dame was abandoned, and a new church was decided upon, to far outshine Christ Church in magnificence. There followed in 1821 the appointment of Mgr. Jean-Jacques Lartigue to the rank of auxiliary bishop, preliminary to the organization of an episcopal diocese of Montréal. A large cathedral church was planned for him which, together with the new Notre-Dame, would amply redress the architectural balance of Montréal in favor of French-Canadian Catholicism.

As events fell out, it was *La Paroisse*, not the cathedral church of Saint-Jacques, which really fulfilled this function. Saint-Jacques was designed along lines laid down by Thomas Baillairgé (1791-1859), the rising young architect of Québec City.[4] Baillairgé's plans were ambitious, but were not carried out in their entirety; instead, the actual building—which began in 1823—was entrusted to one Joseph Fournier (1790-1832), an obscure master-mason of Montréal, who was "a sort of architect, working along traditional lines."[5] The resulting edifice was large enough—the largest in the country, in fact—but had a clumsy artisan-like air about it which spoilt any impressiveness its size may have imparted (Fig. 5). Basically, the inspiration behind Saint-Jacques was that of the Royalist revival. This was apparent on the interior, in the large pseudo-baldacchin and general lavishness of rococo ornament, and on the exterior in the façade design, which recalled—if not directly imitated—Servandoni's eighteenth-century façade of the church of Saint-Sulpice in Paris.[6] As a whole, however, the cathedral church of Saint-Jacques was distinctly disappointing. And this circumstance undoubtedly had a good deal to do with the decision of the wardens in charge of planning *La Paroisse* to build their church differently. They chose the new Gothic style.

It is the custom—in fact, it is practically a dogma—for modern critics to damn most bitterly this decision by the wardens, and the neo-Gothic church which resulted from it. Two main arguments are made—first and foremost, that the decision to build in Gothic was the blow which killed a flourishing native Québecois tradition, replacing it with an eclecticism which was both foreign and characterless; second, that the church itself was a dismal design, both aesthetically and functionally. In the writer's opinion, arguments like these may be apposite and valid enough today, but when applied to *La Paroisse*, they represent a serious misconception both of the true Québecois tradition and the essence of the Gothic revival.

To put this problem into its proper perspective, let us consider first the actual circumstances surrounding the building of Notre-Dame. By September 1823, financial arrangements for the new building had been settled, and in that month it so happened that one of the wardens in charge—a M. Bouthillier—had occasion to be in New York on a business trip. There he made the acquaintance of an Irish-born architect named James O'Donnell.[7] O'Donnell was an enthusiastic and apparently immensely persuasive protagonist of the Gothic revival. Before M. Bouthillier left New York, O'Donnell had been invited to submit plans in Gothic for *La Paroisse*. On October 4, 1824, O'Donnell's tentative plans were in the warden's hands, he having come to Montréal for the purpose. Two weeks later they were approved, with slight modifications.[8] And on April 8, 1824, final plans were completed, and work began. What is surprising about all this is the speed with which O'Donnell's plans were accepted. *La Paroisse* was the earliest Gothic building of any consequence in the Province of Québec,[9] and one of the largest in America. Yet it took only two weeks for O'Donnell's plans to gain acceptance. It is obvious that contemporaries did not consider them such a radical departure from tradition as do modern critics.[10] And when the building was finally finished in 1829,[11] it was greeted with a rhapsodic chorus of praise which continued far into the nineteenth century. There were no regrets and not the faintest suspicion of the abuse to be heaped on *La Paroisse* and its builder a century later. All of which suggests that contemporaries saw in the new church many things overlooked by critics today. We would do well to ascertain what these were.

There are several good reasons why O'Donnell's plans were so easily and quickly accepted. In the first place, even though its details were Gothic, the general outlines

of Notre-Dame were not strange to Québecois eyes, particularly in the Montréal region. The twin-towered façade was an outstanding architectural feature of Montréal under the Old Régime.[12] Nor was the feeling for Gothic as unknown as one might suppose. It was in the Montréal area that the twin-towered façade was first revived in the Province following the Cession, by a talented amateur, Abbé Françoise Cherrier (1745-1809). Cherrier's architectural ideas may be said to represent the counterpart of the Quévillon atelier's interior sculpture—large, ostentatious, reviving the royalist traditions of the Old Régime in Canada. They were seen to best advantage in the church designed by him for his own parish of Saint-Denis-sur-Richelieu, begun in 1791 (Fig. 6).[13] This is a particularly interesting church for the history of the Gothic revival in Montréal. Mgr. Lartigue especially admired Saint-Denis, and proposed that his new cathedral church be built on this model.[14] To some extent this was actually carried out in the design of Saint-Jacques. And, I suggest, there is also some influence from the church of Saint-Denis-sur-Richelieu perceptible in the design of the Neo-Gothic church of Notre-Dame. The most curious features of the design of Saint-Denis-sur-Richelieu were its clochers. The clocher over the crossing was peculiar enough; its dis-

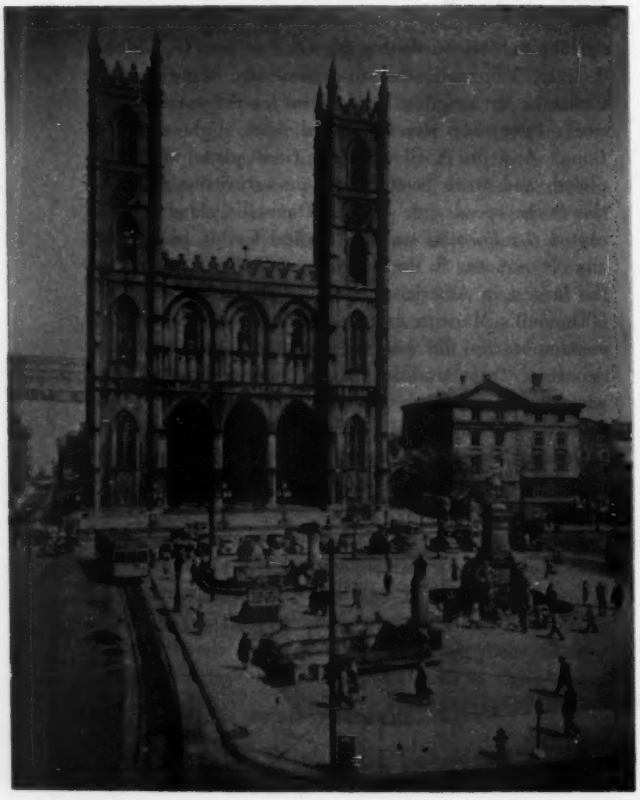


FIG. 1. Montréal, parish church of Notre-Dame *(Courtesy parish of Notre-Dame)*

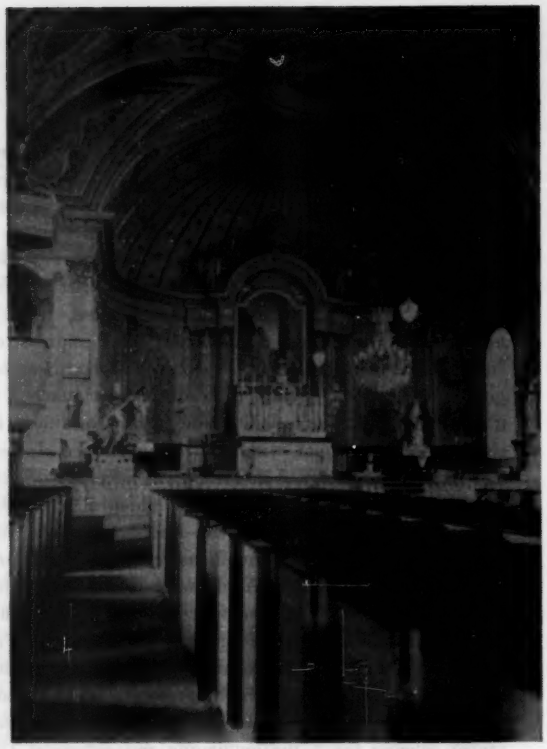
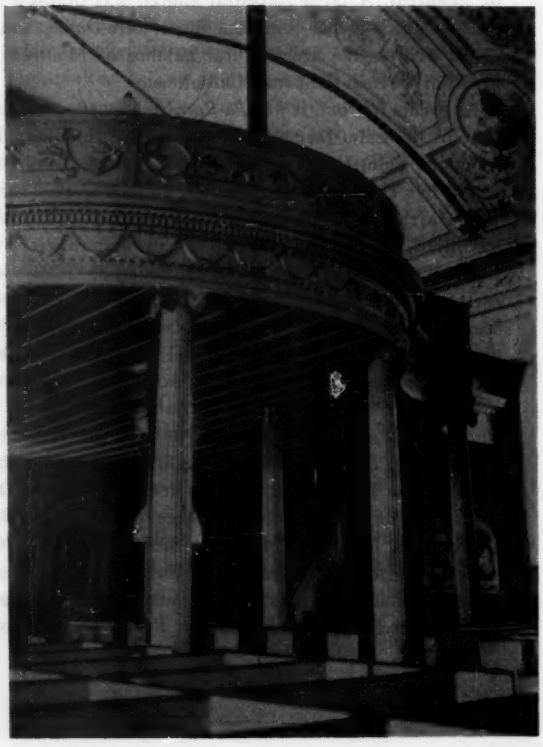


FIG. 2. L'Acadie, parish church. Sanctuary *(Inventaire des Oeuvres d'Art de la Province de Québec, Québec; Gerard Morisset, director)*

FIG. 3. L'Acadie, parish church. Choir loft and detail of vault *(Inventaire des Oeuvres d'Art)*



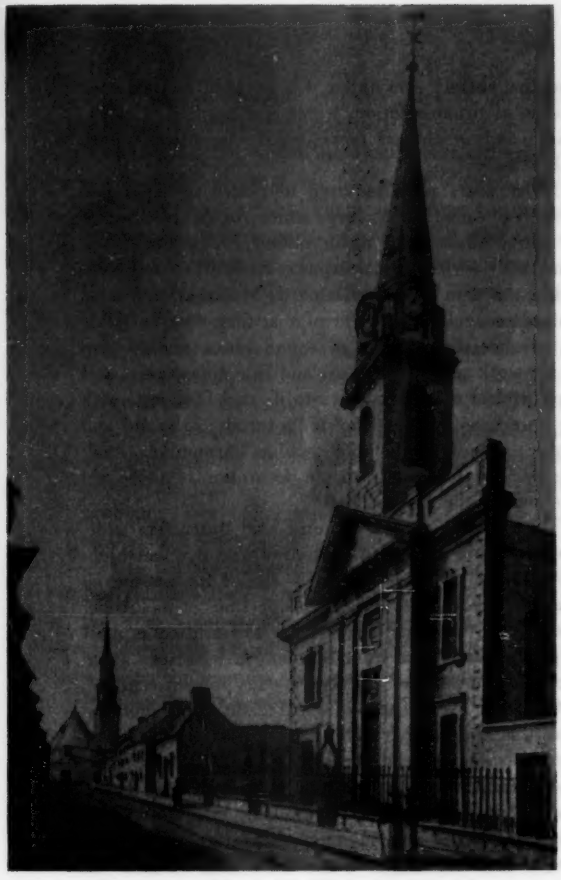


Fig. 4. Montréal, Christ Church, destroyed 1856.
In the background, Old Notre-Dame (demolished 1829).
Drawing by John Drake from the *Album de Jacques Viger (Inventaire des Oeuvres d'Art)*

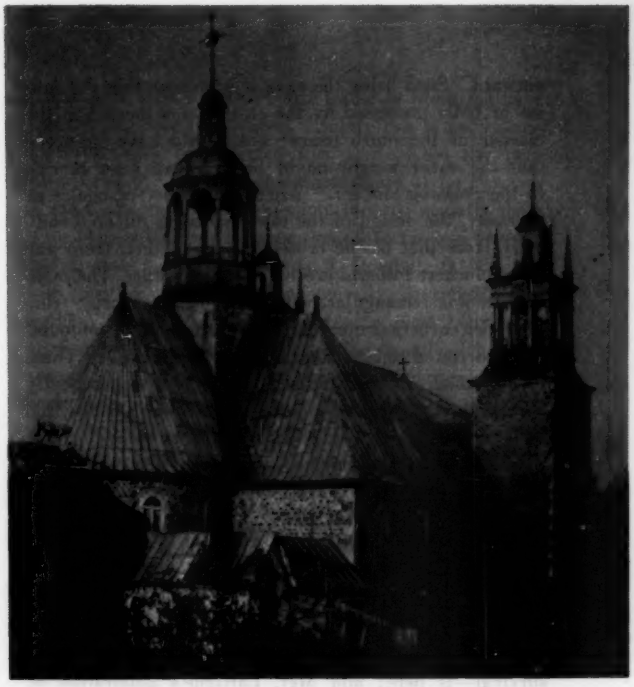


Fig. 6. Saint-Denis-sur-Richelieu, parish church, before the alterations of 1922| *(Courtesy Ramsay Traquair)*

proportionate size recalls the seventeenth-century type of Québec clocher, but its forms seem to be an artisan's version of a design from Blondel. Presumably the clochers on the towers were originally intended to be of the same type. That they are not is explained by the chronicler as "owing to a tendency of the towers to lean

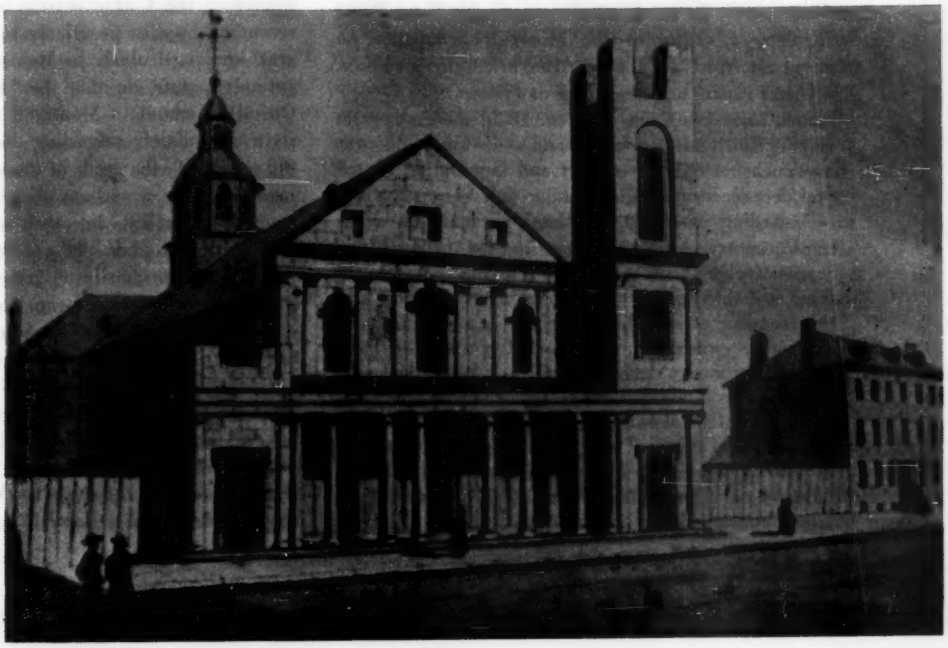


Fig. 5.
Montréal, Cathedral of Saint-Jacques (destroyed 1852).
Drawing by John Drake, ca. 1826, from the *Album de Jacques Viger (Inventaire des Oeuvres d'Art)*

outward." Such being the case, it is strange that the only set of bells possessed by the church was located in the clocher of the north tower; one would have supposed that the extra weight might bettter have been carried in the crossing clocher.[15] Whether a matter of choice or necessity, the design of the tower clochers differed radically from that of the crossing, and, in fact, from any other clochers hitherto erected in the Province. The main lantern was rectangular, with a vertical emphasis; from its upper corners projected ornamental obelisks, undoubtedly borrowed again from a source like Blondel. These forms, which suggest Gothic pinnacles, rise to practically the height of the half-lantern, half-*flèche* construction which crowns the whole. The total effect of these clochers, plus that of the towers and traditionally steep Québecois roof, is one of marked verticality over the whole building. There is no single detail that is Gothic as such, and yet the feeling of the total design is undeniably mediaeval.

The mediaeval craft tradition is one of the two main roots of Québecois architecture.[16] At Saint-Denis-sur-Richelieu we perceive it as a feeling rather than in any specific forms. Nevertheless mediaevalism—i.e., Gothic survival—is here; and Mgr. Lartigue's admiration of Saint-Denis points up the fact that the Gothic tradition was not essentially foreign to Canadien arts at all; it needed only special circumstances to bring it out in strength. Some of these circumstances we have already suggested—the desire for something ostentatious, the failure of the eighteenth-century tradition to supply it adequately, the chance meeting with the enthusiastic Gothic revivalist O'Donnell. But there are more deep-seated reasons why Gothic made such a strong appeal to the Canadiens, particularly just around 1820. To my mind, these reasons are best analyzed—though unconsciously perhaps—in an article concerning Notre-Dame written by a critic for the Montréal newspaper *La Minerve* on April 27, 1866.[17] After a lengthy preamble, this writer's main argument runs as follows:

> About forty years ago [i.e., *ca.* 1820] the eighteenth-century spirit still prevailed, and as we know, this was an epoch not only of impiety and immorality, but of real decadence in religious art.
>
> According to leading archaeologists, in the eighteenth century everything that implied principle or regularity had been renounced. Pure Greek architecture, so noble and fine, was no longer in favor, and the grandeur of ogival architecture—no less pure and admirable—was not understood. Instead, there had been substituted a new style which implied the negation of any rational principle, and which was in addition especially inappropriate for a sanctuary or for an *aisle de la prière*. There was no longer any interest in the principles of art, nor in the character and function of elements, but everything was put on the same footing—the church and the theatre, the altar and the buffet; everything was invaded by the same system of ornamentation, which was applied to everything, and which was embellished with the pompous title 'Rococo' . . .
>
> Many years were required to return to saner and more traditional ideas; ideas which for the last twenty or thirty years have again dotted France and England with veritable masterpieces; but when one considers the date of Notre-Dame de Montréal, one must indeed recognize the talent of that man who was able to advance the triumph of sound ideas, and to give to his work such a grand air and fine appearance, and such perfect appropriateness to its real function; with its towers, so high and bold; its façade, so grand and ample; its nave, so complete and so harmonious, lending itself so admirably to the decoration of those old basilicas of the Ages of Faith.
>
> The façade . . . is a hundred and thirty feet wide, while the towers are two hundred and ten feet high. Notre-Dame de Paris, which is one of the most celebrated cathedrals for the fine proportions of its façade, has nearly the same dimensions. The edifice is most imposing, and from an elevation, as it is seen from the different parts of the city, is truly magnificent . . .
>
> One sees by the size of the façade, if by nothing else, that this church belongs to the family of those great basilicas of the Old Continent . . . which have more recently inspired the genius of the great apologists of religion in the nineteenth century: 'The church has witnessed to its thought in the construction of its temples' . . .

This writer has given, in my opinion, the most succinct account possible of the factors which really motivated the Neo-Gothic style of *La Paroisse*. His arguments embody the characteristically romantic approach to architecture of the Gothic revival at large; but his line of reasoning applies peculiarly to French Canada in general, and particularly to Montréal. For example, he accurately points out that the "Royalist Revival" of the Quévillon school in Montréal, which was the dominant style immediately preceding the introduction of Gothic, did not satisfy the needs of the new century; but whereas modern critics would say that was because of a certain overblown quality—in other words, would criticize it on stylistic grounds *per se*—the writer of 1866 bases his objection primarily on grounds of historical association—the style is inappropriate because it reflects an epoch of "impiety and immorality," when the "church and theatre are put on the same footing." And if we compare the fate of the Royalist revival in the Montréal area with that of Québec, it becomes apparent that he is on the right track. For the Royalist revival remained dominant around Québec City some thirty years after Gothic had been introduced in Montréal. That it did not sooner become objectionable on the same grounds of

impiety and immorality is attributable to the differing environment in the two centres.

In Québec, the objection to eighteenth-century rococo which paved the way for Gothic in Montréal did not carry the same weight. There are minor factors which account for this in part. For one thing, the Baillairgé school was much less florid, particularly after the influence of Jérôme Demers was felt.[18] Then again, the spirit of scholarly—or perhaps better, romantic—inquiry into the moods and meanings of earlier cultures had not come to Québec as strongly as to cosmopolitan Montréal. But the major factor was that in Québec there was no such need for an indubitably positive affirmation of Catholicism in architecture as was felt in Montréal—Québec did not have the Montréal Catholics' "Protestant problem." Not only was the English-speaking element in Québec always a much smaller proportion of the population than in Montréal, but Anglicans were in the majority among them, and from the first relations between the Roman and Anglican Churches in Québec had been comparatively friendly. Montréal's Protestants, however, were both numerous and vociferous. Scottish and Ulster Presbyterianism was strong, with a liberal admixture of Orangemen. Differences of religious opinion were a continuous cause of dissension among the citizens of Montréal; each camp was highly suspect to the other. And so to the clergy and devout Roman Catholic parishioners of Montréal it was far more disquieting to realize that the rococo style reflected a degenerate and dissolute Catholic church in eighteenth-century France than to their counterparts in Québec. Architecture in Montréal must bear witness to a strong Catholic faith in the face of the English Protestant challenge. And Gothic seemed the vehicle admirably suited to bear it—Gothic, through which the "church has witnessed to its thought." It therefore had an appeal far stronger than merely stylistic considerations to the wardens of Notre-Dame. Hence it is easy to see why O'Donnell's Gothic plans were accepted in two weeks. In this sense, our writer is perfectly accurate when he says Gothic was a "more traditional" style than Quévillon's. French Canada from its very inception was conspicuous for its devotion to Rome; even today, it is a byword in France that the Canadiens are "plus catholique que le bon Dieu." To the builders of *La Paroisse,* Gothic was no break with Québecois tradition; rather, it expressed that tradition as a purer and more powerful form.

And Catholicism was not the only traditional French-Canadian value that the Gothic style promised to express. It was also more truly French. It recalled, not the dissolute France of Louis XV, but the France of St. Louis—that France from which the Canadiens preferred to trace their descent. Our writer makes much of the fact that Notre-Dame in Paris and Notre-Dame in Montréal have "nearly the same dimensions." Surely this is not coincidence. It may be objected that aside from the twin towers and triple portal, the resemblance of *La Paroisse* to the Cathedral of Paris is slight indeed; actually there is no more difference between them than there is between real Gothic building and what O'Donnell, in common with early Gothic revivalists generally, conceived of as Gothic. Certainly one of O'Donnell's most convincing arguments in gaining this commission must have been an appeal to nationalistic sentiment; if you are going to have a revival of French monarchical styles, why stop with the eighteenth century, so different from New France? Why not go right back to the true Catholic traditions of Old France? Seen in this light, Saint-Jacques in 1823 and Notre-Dame in 1824 are not really so completely different; rather they are part of the same movement. Both, in the face of threatened English assimilation recall the French national traditions of the Province. Notre-Dame is another expression of the Royalist revival and, to the Canadiens of its time, a much more satisfactory one.

Finally, our writer is impressed, and vastly pleased, with the magnificence of Notre-Dame. It was by far the most conspicuous church in the city. Before the chimneys of industry and the skyscrapers of commerce took over the skyline of Montréal, the twin towers of Notre-Dame dominated it, far surpassing any English Protestant spires. The claim that Gothic allowed greater height and general size was one of O'Donnell's important talking points.[19]

Contemporaries, then, would have flatly refuted the modern charge that the Neo-Gothic style of *La Paroisse* marked a break in the Québecois architectural tradition. They would have pointed out that not only was there a native mediaeval strain—a Gothic survival—in that tradition, but all its basic elements—Canadien Catholicism, Canadien Frenchness, Canadien ostentation—were better served in the new style. As for the charge that the design of Notre-Dame itself was unfunctional, this depends on what the building's "function" was supposed to be. The writer of 1866 believed that O'Donnell's work had "perfect appropriateness to its real function." He did not care that as a place of worship *La Paroisse* was certainly rendered somewhat inadequate by the extreme gloom of its interior; and he did not consider that the dry and thin "paper Gothic" forms (which by this time he could easily compare with archaeologically better Gothic), nor the fact that its façade is unrelated to the building behind, made it any the less satisfactory. For he was thinking in terms of its "real function," which was obviously not to be an archaeological exhibition of Gothic building, nor yet an aesthetically pleasing object, but

rather a monument to the vitality of Canadien culture and Catholic religion in the face of an alien challenge in its time and place. And this function Notre-Dame fulfilled supremely well.

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

1. The church of L'Acadie seems to owe its preservation to the successive splitting off from the original parish of four daughter-parishes, so that the resources which might have gone to replace or restore the old church were drained off into the new parish churches. Cf.S.A. Moreau, *Histoire de L'Acadie* (Montréal, 1908), pp. 56 f.; E. R. Adair, *The Parish and Church of Lacadie* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association Report, 1933), pp. 59 f.

2. On the Conefroy plan, cf. Gérard Morisset, *L'Architecture en Nouvelle-France* (Québec, 1949), pp. 55-60, 130. Morisset dates the actual inception of the Conefroy plan between 1790 and 1800, but the real impetus behind it undoubtedly stemmed from conditions in the post-Cession period of the Province. L'Acadie is larger than most Conefroy plan churches, being 120 feet long and 50 feet wide.

3. Cf. N. Bosworth, *Hochelaga depicta* (Montréal, 1846), pp. 100-104. Christ Church became a cathedral when the Anglican diocese of Montréal was established in 1850. It measured on the inside 120 feet long and 80 feet wide, as compared to outside measurements of 140 feet long and 96 feet wide for old Notre-Dame. The design, supervised by William Berczy (1748-1813), an itinerant Saxon painter and colonizer, depended in large part on that of the Anglican Cathedral in Québec (designed in 1803, built in 1804), which in turn copied James Gibbs' London church, St. Martins-in-the-Fields. The first Christ Church in Montréal was destroyed in 1856; the present Gothic structure dates from 1857. On the latter, cf. P. J. Turner, "Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal," *McGill University Publications*, Series XIII, No. 17.

4. Baillairgé submitted a plan for this church in 1823, according to Olivier Maurault, *Marges d'histoire: Montréal* (Montréal, 1929), p. 207. In a longer unpublished article on Thomas Baillairgé, I have outlined my reasons for believing that Baillairgé's interior plan was followed by the mason, Fournier, although Baillairgé received no official credit for the design.

5. Olivier Maurault, *Saint-Jacques de Montréal* (Montréal, 1923), p. 20. Cf. Gérard Morisset, *L'architecture en Nouvelle-France*, p. 132.

6. Since the Order of Saint-Sulpice held jurisdiction over Montréal throughout the Old Régime, Sulpician architectural ideas were a strong influence on the Québecois tradition in Montréal.

7. Olivier Maurault, *La Paroisse*, (Montréal, 1929), pp. 43 f. O'Donnell was born in Ireland in 1774; he came to the United States in 1812, and died in 1830. He seems to have been an architect of some merit, being elected a member of the American Academy of Fine Arts in New York; John Vanderlyn said he was the best architect in America (Maurault, *op. cit.*, p. 58.). Talbot Hamlin, *Greek Revival Architecture in America* (Oxford University Press, 1944), p. 134, cites some drawings by O'Donnell made for additions to Columbia College in 1818, now in the Avery Library of Columbia University. He calls them "interesting evidence of the skill of these [anonymous] architect-draftsmen [of the period in New York] . . . These designs, in part built, show an exquisite and meticulous type of draftsmanship, far in advance of the draftsmanship shown in the existing drawings of Asher Benjamin . . . " (This reference I owe to Dr. R. H. Hubbard of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.) O'Donnell's skill in draftsmanship reflects his training in England; his knowledge of Gothic seems likewise to have been gained in England, for the forms of Notre-Dame suggest strongly the late eighteenth-century revival of Gothic architecture in Anglican churches.

8. Among these modifications, significantly enough, was the provision that the design should include a promenade deck on the roof, from which to survey the city and countryside. This was a feature directly borrowed from Christ Church, signifying, in a sense, the competitive spirit of *La Paroisse*.

9. Morisset, *L'Architecture en Nouvelle-France*, p. 27, cites as the earliest evidence of Gothic tendencies in the Province a request by the inhabitants of Chambly to their bishop for a church "en forme et figure de huit pans," presented in 1816.

10. The major contemporary objection to O'Donnell's plan came from Jérôme Demers, vicar-general of the Seminary of Québec; his correspondence with the wardens of Notre-Dame is preserved in the parish archives, and is largely reproduced by Maurault, *La Paroisse, op.cit.* The weight of Demers' arguments was somewhat diminished by the fact that his aim was obviously to gain the commission for his protégé, Thomas Baillairgé. Demers' objection to Gothic was based upon the arguments of eighteenth-century classicism; in his unpublished *Traité d'Architecture*, " . . . he refused to admit Gothic as an orthodox style . . . Very severe in this matter, he regarded it as the fruit of an irrational imagination abandoned without discipline to its caprices. Also he called it barbarism in art, because he did not see in it that regularity which appeared spontaneously, he thought, in the classical style . . . " Cf. Etienne-Théodore Pâquet, *Fragments de l'histoire religieuse et civile de la paréisse de Saint-Nicholas* (Lévis, 1894), pp. 34 f. The *Traité* embodied Demers' notes for lectures on architecture delivered to the students of the Seminary of Québec.

11. Inasmuch as Mgr. Olivier Maurault's admirable monograph *La Paroisse* so completely details the history of the building, there is little point in repeating it here. Cf. *La Paroisse, op.cit.*

12. The earliest twin-towered façade in New France was probably that planned for Old Notre-Dame in 1672; one only of the proposed towers was built. In 1722 the Royal Engineer, Chaussegros de Léry, presented a plan to complete the other tower and add a Jesuit-type façade to Old Notre-Dame; this plan, still preserved in the archives of Notre-Dame, was also left incomplete. From this time on there are numerous examples of the twin-towered façade in the Montréal area, the earliest being the church of Repentigny, begun in 1725, where the towers were added between 1737 and 1749.

13. Cf. J. B. A. Allaire, *Histoire de Saint-Denis-sur-Richelieu* (St. Hyacinth, 1905), Chapter XIII. The façade of Saint-Denis was cemented in 1856, thus destroying the effect of the original fieldstone construction, but it survived reasonably intact until 1922, when clochers and façade were totally rebuilt. The original interior was the work of Quévillon's atelier.

14. *Ibid*, p. 229.

15. The two empty clochers gave Saint-Denis its nickname—the church of "deux cents cloches"—i.e., trois clochers, mais deux sans cloches.

16. Cf. Alan Gowans, "The Earliest Church Architecture of New France," *Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, XXVI, 1949, pp. 291 f.

17. It is advertised as the first of a series of articles on "Architecture in Canada—The Churches, Notre-Dame, Saint-Patrice, and The Gesù in Montréal." The translation is mine.

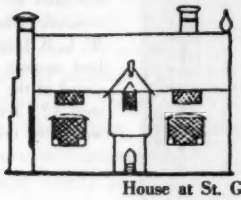
18. Cf. Note 10. Demers' objections to rococo floridity were based upon the same grounds as his objection to Gothic—i.e., lack of regularity in terms of eighteenth-century classicism. They point up again the fact that the "Royalist Revival" of the late eighteenth century in Québecois art is part and parcel of the same cultural movement which produced the Gothic revival in Montréal.

19. This must be what O'Donnell is talking about when he replies to Demers' advocacy of a "native" style by stating that the Gothic style is "more suitable to your [the wardens'] materials, workmen, climate, wants, and means." (Maurault, *La Paroisse*, p. 76.) At face value, this statement is absurd, of course.

AMERICAN NOTES

CHARLES E. PETERSON, *Editor*
Old Custom House, 420 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 6.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY



House at St. George's, Bermuda, 1698

The earliest architecture of our Atlantic seaboard was highly perishable. Today—particularly in the South—it is hard to find enough examples to draw any firsthand conclusions. Looking around in Bermuda we found the little drawing figured here. It was taken from a plat of the year 1698 and was reproduced in Dr. Wilkinson's remarkable *Bermuda in the Old Empire* (Oxford University Press, 1950, 323). The house once stood on the parade in the ancient and picturesque bayside village of St. George's. With its overhanging porch and casement windows it appears like a bit of Old Ipswich; but the outside chimney suggests the milder climate of Tidewater Virginia.

Dr. Wilkinson is the loving owner of "Tankfield" in Paget, one of a remarkable trio which includes "Inwood," also in Paget, and "Norwood" in Pembroke. These three pre-Georgian houses date from about the year 1700. A few months after viewing them, Harold Donaldson Eberlein took us to see three houses of Ann Arundel County, Maryland—"Holly Hill," "Sudley," and "Cedar Park." These date from the same period and exhibit a real architectural affinity. Separated by a lot of open ocean, we today are apt to forget the close relations between the colonies of Bermuda and the mainland.

SURVEY OF MARYLAND'S EASTERN SHORE

The evening of January 15 we went down to Baltimore to hear the report by Perry, Shaw and Hepburn, Kehoe and Dean (Boston architects and veterans of the Williamsburg campaign) on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Several societies were meeting jointly and the hall was jammed to overflowing.

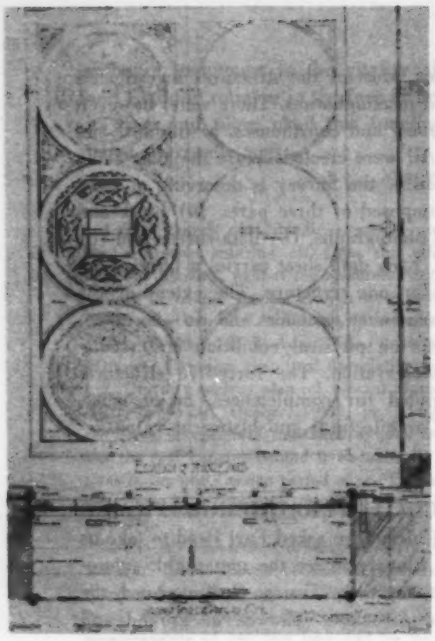
Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., resident of Eastern Shore and donor of the funds for the "Regional Architectural Survey of Eastern Maryland—Public and Semi-Public Buildings," spoke briefly, as did William G. Perry, FAIA. Andrew Hepburn, Jr. who, with Conover Fitch, did most of the field work, showed a handsome series of natural color slides. Most of the structures investigated were churches and meetinghouses. There were, however, several custom houses and courthouses, a windmill and two water mills. All were erected before the year 1800.

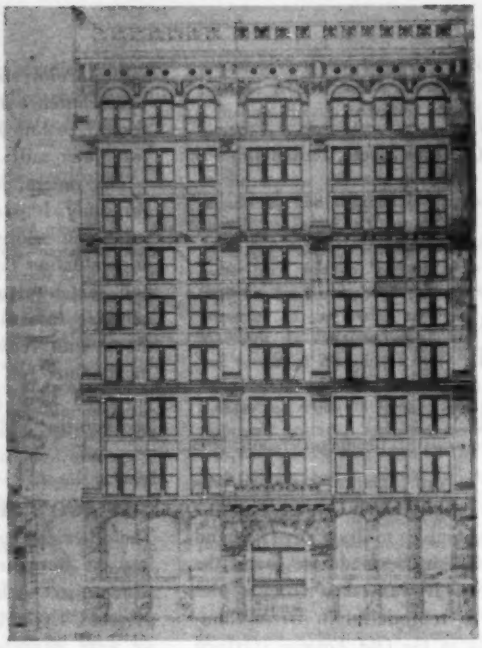
The general plan of the Survey is deserving of careful study. It is composed of three parts, (a) black and white and colored photographs, (b) data sheets, and (c) an evaluation list. Each data sheet carries a photograph and sketch plan for one structure. The extent of the original fabric remaining—outside and in—is noted, along with remarks on physical condition and recommendations for preservation. The forty-five structures surveyed were graded for completeness, maintenance, accessibility and "architectural and historical value."

CHICAGO'S ARCHITECTURAL HEROES FILMED

The other day in Chicago we asked Earl Reed to take us into the Burnham Library to see the remarkable microfilm project under way there. George C. Winterowd, the present "Executive Associate," showed us around and we were impressed. A memorandum furnished by him explains the objectives and names the persons associated with the work:

> Chicago, because of the fire of 1871, of necessity became the center of architectural development in the United States. It was in Chicago that the dream of the skyscraper became a reality; there were more advances in techniques in the decade following the depression of 1873 than in the hundred years which preceded it. Today the influence of these developments is everywhere. John M. Van Osdel, William LeBaron Jenney, Louis Sullivan, Dankmar Adler, Daniel Burnham, John Root, William Holabird, Martin Roche and Frank Lloyd Wright are but a few of the leaders of this Chicago School of Architecture.
>
> Generally, Chicago's technical and aesthetic contributions to modern architecture are recognized; however, a comprehensive history of the Chicago School remains to be written. This is because documents and data for such a volume are not readily available. Some sketches, working drawings, specifications, etc., have been destroyed, some lost and others scattered throughout the country. Each day may bring similar losses.
>
> Viewing this situation, several Chicago architects and engineers, including Earl H. Reed, Elmer C. Jensen and the late Frank A. Randall, proposed that an architectural archives be established at the Burnham Library of Architecture of the Chicago Art Institute. Miss Ruth Schoneman, Librarian at the Art Institute, proposed a plan to microfilm working drawings and other material of significance in Chicago's development. Since the resources of the Burnham Library were inadequate, it was proposed to Professor Bannister, Head of the Department of Architecture at the University of Illinois, that the University cooperate





Sample Frames from the Chicago Microfilm Project
Left to right are (a) Details of the doors to the Wainwright Memorial, St. Louis, dated March 2, 1892 and drawn by George Elmslie for Adler and Sullivan (b) Adams Street elevation of the Home Insurance Building by W. L. B. Jenney, the world's first modern skyscraper by virtue of the fact that the steel (?) frame carried the weight of the masonry envelope.

in this project, and that in exchange for this cooperation, the Ricker Architectural Library at the University would become a depository for duplicates of all microfilms made during the course of the project. As a result of this proposal, the University appointed Mr. John G. Replinger, architect and graduate of the University of Illinois, the Executive Associate of the project.

This cooperative plan was put into effect in September of 1950. Mr. Reed and Mr. Randall served as co-chairmen of the Advisory Committee, which was composed of Professor Bannister, Miss Schoneman, Mr. Alfred E. Hamill, Trustee of the Art Institute, and Professor W. C. Huntington, Head of the Department of Civil Engineering at the University of Illinois.

A total of 3393 black and white microfilm exposures of 2527 original prints or drawings have been made to date. The remaining exposures were made from related architectural documents. In addition, 57 exposures have been successfully duplicated in color.

The above count was made as of the end of December, 1951. We here reproduce two of the frames to give an idea.

PREFABS FOR THE PRAIRIES

For a long time the prairies west of the Mississippi were thought of as the Great American Desert, a hard place in which to live. Except for a few cottonwoods along an occasional stream, there were no trees for making lumber. The Indians had a bad time to get even the poles to frame their skin teepees. A traveller of 1820 related that the plains Indians traded their horses for poles cut by the Missouri River tribes, one horse having the value of five. Six to eight went into each lodge and when the tribes moved, the precious poles were dragged along behind the ponies. (*Dr. Edwin James,* Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains *in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed.,* Early Western Travels, *Cleveland, 1905, XVI, 109.*)

As railroad construction pressed on towards the Pacific it was finally decided that the prairies were fertile; could be farmed and lived on. Sod houses were often the first types used, to be replaced by more comfortable structures of imported lumber. As the great flood of immigration to the Northwest began in earnest, the Chicago millwork firm of Richards, Norris & Clemens issued an "Illustrated Catalogue, Description and Price List of Clemens' Ready Made Sectional Houses." This little pamphlet of 1872, from which we here publish part of the text and some designs, is an interesting episode in the long development of building prefabrication in America. The history of the movement goes back at least as far as Elizabethan times. (*Charles E. Peterson,* "*Early American Prefabrication,*" Gazette des Beaux Arts, *Vol. 33, January, 1948, 37-46.*)

The Chicago scheme may, perhaps, be traced directly to the invention of a carpenter and builder of High Holborn, London, named Manning. The object of Manning's portable cottage was "to supply emigrants with comfortable and secure lodgings immediately on their arrival at a foreign settlement . . . " This house, described as "A Portable Cottage for the Use of Emigrants and Others," *was made of wood but put together without*

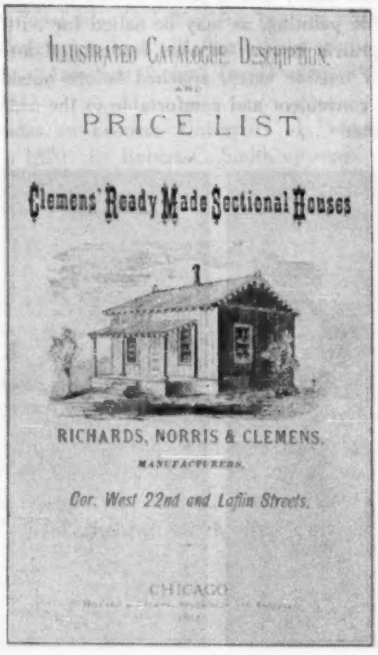
nails. Prefabricated, interchangeable panels made up its walls. A great number were successfully used in the colonization of Australia. (J. C. Loudon, An Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture, *London, 1836, 251-259.) The possibilities of piracy were not overlooked in the United States. John Hall, a Baltimore architect, in 1840 put out a book of house designs, including a plate entitled A PORTABLE COTTAGE, FOR THE USE OF NEW SETTLERS AND OTHERS. Both the design and text are obviously derived from the Manning invention as published by Loudon.*

A generation later Skillings and Flint, lumber dealers of New York and Boston, published a sales pamphlet entitled "Illustrated Catalogue of Portable Sectional Buildings" (Boston, 1862) which brings the evolution of the prefab almost up to our Chicago booklet. The Clemens publication was found in the records of the War Department, now in the National Archives.

The prices on the designs illustrated were: No. 7 (plain) $435; ornamental, $525, (Chicago Basement, Balcony and Stairs, $150 extra); No. 8 (with store front), $435; No. 10 (each unit), $190.—Ed.

The Clemens Ready Made Sectional Houses

This invention is the result of a carefully studied effort to provide the best plan of cheap, serviceable dwellings for popular use, both in town and country, and which in no useful respect shall be inferior to the common class of permanent structures. The aim has been, not only to meet the demand for cheap, comfortable tenements for workmen in cities and manufacturing and mining towns, but more especially to supply good, cheap dwellings, in the most satisfactory way, to settlers in the prairie and mountain-regions of the West. To accomplish this object, we mainly discard old modes of construction, and substitute therefor improved methods of our own invention, which give the maximum of strength and habitable comfort with less cost and quantity of material. The component parts of these houses throughout, with the exception of tying pieces and mouldings, are put up in sections which are made of mill-worked lumber, cut to dimensions, and put together with the aid of special appliances and system for cheapening the cost of labor. This both requires and allows that they be made in a manufactory specially adapted for the business, where all the details of construction can be systemized, and the cost of materials, machine working, and labor can be economized, as in any other important factory product. Such is our house factory in Chicago, located in the great lumber mart of the country, with every appliance which we can procure or devise for cheapening and improving the production of our specialty.



Portability and Ease of Erection

The roof and floor, as well as the sides composing each house, are made in sections about three and one-half feet wide, which can be handled conveniently, making transportation easy, and requiring only two or three persons in the erection of the building. The sections are made of this width to allow of transportation on a railway car or an ordinary farm wagon. The sections are all complete in themselves before leaving our works. Doors and windows are fitted into their sections, ready for use. Few nails or screws are required in putting up the building, except such as are used in putting on roof battens over the sectional points. Hence the services of a carpenter or skilled mechanic are not required in the erection. Any man of ordinary intelligence can put up a house, by simply following the printed directions accompanying each, and to be found in another part of this book. No more ingenuity need be called into requisition than that which is used in putting together a farm wagon.

Comfort

It is claimed for our roof and side battens that they are respectively *water and air tight,* as reference to the diagrams and descriptions herein given, we think, will clearly show, and when it is considered that an air-tight wall of one inch dry pine is impenetrable to frost of any ordinary degree, we think we have contributed materially to the average comforts of a home in any climate, without the aid of lath and plastering. The occupants of the houses now in use, uniformly say that they are as warm in the coldest weather as those built of brick.

Strength

We have heard as objections against other houses of a cheap, portable, or ready-made kind, that they are lia-

ble to be blown over, or, by their frail construction, to be seriously damaged by high winds. We have no hesitancy in claiming for ours, in this connection, that it stands an equal, if not better, test in stormy or windy weather, than any wooden building of the ordinary construction, as has been proved in high gales the past season.

Durability

The parts all being fastened together with bolts there is no probability of any joints becoming loose, as is frequent where the old plan of nailing is used. Should they, however, become loose, by shrinkage or otherwise, by the use of a screw wrench the nuts may be tightened, and the original solidity restored, thus affording a provision for permanently maintaining the rigidity of the structure, which does not exist in other modes of building . . .

General Remarks

We would especially call the attention of emigrants and colonies locating in the West, and also of emigrant and land associations to the advantages of these houses for the use of settlers. The first requirement of an emigrant, after securing and reaching his new location, is house shelter for himself and his family. To obtain this he is generally subjected to much trouble and expense, with vexatious loss of time and money, and but poor accommodations as the result. By ordering in advance one of our sectional houses, either from this office or from our agent nearest to his intended location, it can be delivered by railroad, and be on hand to be hauled by wagon and set up, directly on the arrival of the emigrant with his family at their destination. This facility of securing comfortable house accommodations, surely provides against a serious hardship of frontier life, and must operate as an encouragement to the early occupancy of unsettled lands . . .

The grouped farmstead, or ranche [sic], is picturesque, convenient, cosy and safe from winds, and it has a real American expression of combined independence and sociability which is sure to suit the people of our Western plains . . .

To capitalists who own unoccupied and unproductive real estate, in cities or the country, the purchase and erection of these houses on their properties for rental, offers directly an ample return, scarce equalled by any other assuredly safe and legitimate investment . . .

For the occupancy of families of cultured taste, who require that the surroundings of their homes show some measure of artistic elegance, these sectional structures, forming picturesque and unique cottages of one or one-and-a-half stories, to be used as suburban, city, or country domiciles, will be embellished with any degree or character of architectural ornamentation, designed and furnished to order . . .

Terms

Our terms are invariably cash . . .

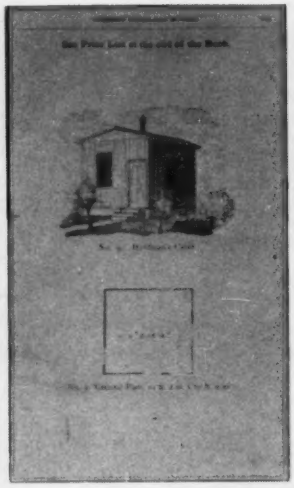
Agents

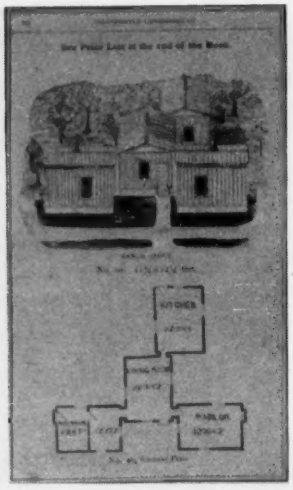
In the selection of agents for the sale of our houses we appoint only parties known for honesty, fair dealing and responsibility . . .

For shipping these houses by railroad, or otherwise, the door handles are taken off and packed in a box sent with each house, in which also will be found a screw wrench and a screw driver, together with a full equipment of long and short bolts, iron washers, door keys, wood screws, nails, corner and angle irons, and putty to lute under the edge of the chimney base when screwing it on the roof. The chimneys also will be boxed for shipping.

At the extra cost, when it is ordered, we will send with each house ready mixed paints of any color, for inside or outside painting, as may be called for . . .

For prairie houses we also recommend an enclosed porch or outside entry, attached before outside doors, as both convenient and comfortable to the occupants in all weather . . .

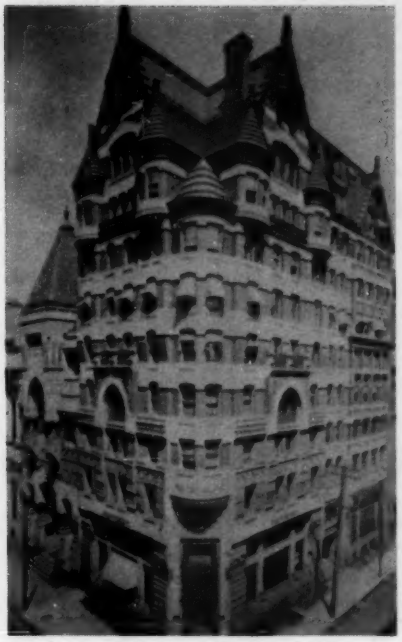




THE PROVIDENT TRUST COMPANY BANKING ROOM

The unidentified room illustrated in "American Notes" for December, 1951 is that of the Provident Trust Company, 409 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia. Furness and Hewitt were the architects of this monument built about 1878 or 1879. Our undated photograph (by Broadbent & Taylor) shows the entrance from Chestnut Street. In later years the partitions were removed and a balcony thrown across the room cutting down the dramatic effect of the high ceiling and the great pointed window. Walls are still lined with the original tile, and decorative iron trusses supporting the roof and skylight (out of sight in the photograph) have the typical Furness ornament to which Louis Sullivan may have owed a great deal.

We republish here (from Moses King, *King's Views, Philadelphia,* New York, 1900, 23) a view of the two buildings of the Provident Trust and Life Company as they stood together at 401-409 Chestnut Street. The company was split in after years and the tall life insurance building on the corner has been pulled down leaving the banking department, No. 409, next on the left. The steep pyramidal roof was also removed.



Provident Trust and Life Company

An article "Frank Furness, an American Pioneer" by William M. Campbell, Philadelphia architect, in the *Architectural Review* of London, Vol. CX, No. 659 (November, 1951) 310-315, publishes for the first time a brief sketch of his life and work. Photographs are accompanied by critical notes by Dr. Nikolaus Pevsner. The front elevation of the Provident's building is featured on p. 310. Louis Sullivan of Chicago started his office training with this firm in 1873. Your editor believes that Sullivan owed a great deal to his brief stay in Philadelphia, including the concept of the tall building designed to look tall (see articles on the Jayne Building in "American Notes" for October, 1950 and March, 1951).

Some notes on Furness' University of Pennsylvania Library (c 1890) by Robert C. Smith appeared in *The Gargoyle,* University of Pennsylvania Library, mimeographed, Vol. 4, No. 4 (June, 1951) 37, 38.

MEMO FROM THE OCTAGON

We scan the American Institute of Architects' newsletter regularly. Along with architects' current headaches, such as defense priorities on steel and copper, we find items of historical interest. The issue for November 12, 1951, for instance, has an amusing excerpt from Bess Furman's *White House Profile* telling how the Institute, led by Glenn Brown, saved the mansion from an ill-advised remodelling promoted by President McKinley and a Colonel Bingham of the Corps of Engineers back in 1900. Another item passes on the appeal for views and information about Portland, Oregon buildings. The Art Museum of that city is preparing an exhibition of local architecture of the period 1860-1900.

S. A. H. NEWS

THE 1952 ANNUAL MEETING

The Annual Meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians was held in New York on January 25, 26 and 27.

New York City architecture was the theme of the first day's sessions. Through the good offices of James G. Van Derpool, chairman of the New York committee for the meeting, the opening conferences took place at Columbia University with a buffet luncheon at the Faculty Club and a reception at the Avery Library.

Saturday, January 26, was a particularly full day. Architecture outside of the United States was discussed in a series of papers read at the Morgan Library in the morning. The afternoon meeting at the New York Historical Society was concerned with preservation and restoration of architectural monuments in the New York area. At the evening session in the Metropolitan Museum

four papers were presented on revival architects in New York.

The final day began at the Architectural League with the annual business meeting and election of officers and wound up with a bus tour of buildings in Lower Manhattan directed by Talbot Hamlin.

A total of 172 members and friends of the society registered for the three-day program. It was announced that the 1953 meeting will be in Cleveland at the same time as the annual meeting of the College Art Association.

J. D. Forbes, Secretary
Wabash College

SUMMER SEMINARS IN ENGLAND

Notice has reached us of two summer study sessions in England. One is to be held under the auspices of the National Trust of that country and the Shropshire County Council's Education Committee. It will be located at Attingham Park in Shropshire, an eighteenth-century mansion, and will last for three weeks, beginning on July 10. The brochure states that the purpose of the course is to introduce American students and teachers to a closer knowledge of the great houses of England from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century. It will be possible to visit such outstanding examples as Chatsworth, Hardwick, Kedleston and Haddon in the Derbyshire area, Blenheim Palace, Oxford and the neighborhood of Stratford on Avon and Bath. Mr. Trevelyan, Warden of the Shropshire Adult College at Attingham, will supervise tutorial work, a library will be available and there will be a number of resident tutors. If desired, a written examination can be set. Full costs for tuition and keep will be $150. Places are limited to 60 and applications, with a $30 deposit, should be sent to Mr. George Trevelyan, Attingham Park, Salop, as soon as possible.

The other meeting will be held from September 8 to 20 in York. Lectures will be given on building techniques from Saxon times until the early nineteenth century, methods of survey, maintenance and repair work, geological consideration of sites, services, relations with official and consultative bodies, bibliography of suitable books, films, drawings, etc., and contracting and costing for repair work. Practical study will occupy a third of the time. Visits will be arranged to sites in or near York which are of special interest. It is hoped to repeat this course in the spring of 1953 and to add to it a series of one-week courses during the same year. Each one-week course will be devoted to preservation and repair work in one of the main building materials— e.g. stone, brick, timber, etc. Residence will be at St. Mary's Hotel, near the York Minster, which has "a name for good food and comfort." Inquiries should be addressed to J. P. West-Taylor Esq., (Sec.), Academic Development Committee, York Civic Trust, St. Anthony's Hall, Peaseholme Green, York.

FROM VIRGINIA

Two items appeared in Virginia last fall which were of more than local interest. The *Colonial Williamsburg News* put out a 12-page silver anniversary edition on November 27. It contains a number of interesting pictures and a brief but informative account of the architectural work of Perry, Shaw and Hepburn and their successors. The other item comes from Charles Peterson and tells about *Virginia Cavalcade*, a new magazine published by the Virginia State Library at Richmond and intended to reveal the wealth of material in its collection. The second issue (Autumn, 1951) carries ten illustrations of colonial churches, eight views of colonial capitols, twelve of covered bridges, three of the Cape Henry Lighthouse (John McComb, 1791), a portrait of Latrobe with three of his Yorktown sketches in color, together with an explanatory article. One of the sketches is of the Secretary Nelson House in ruins, but clearly showing its double hipped roof in the West Indies style. The price of each issue is 35 cents.

FROM OTHER REGIONS

Dean Rexford Newcomb of the University of Illinois has sent a reprint of his "Regionalism in American Architecture," which constitutes Chapter 9 of *Regionalism in America*, edited by Merrill Jensen and published last year by the University of Wisconsin Press. Dean Newcomb is contemplating a larger study of this problem after his new book on Kentucky architecture is out, sometime this year.

Creighton Gilbert of the University of Louisville, now teaching on a Fulbright at the University of Rome, writes that the pre-war Italian architectural history magazine, *Palladio*, resumed publication in December. The address is care of La Libreria dello Stato, Piazza G. Verdi, Rome. In the announcement of its revival it was described as the only periodical in the world devoted exclusively to architectural history.

BOSTON MEETING

Barbara Wriston, whom we were fortunate enough to secure as our new Treasurer and who serves in a similar capacity for the Boston-Cambridge Chapter, sends notice of a November 28 meeting of that group at the Harvard Treasure Library. Mr. Philip Hofer, the Curator, prepared a goup of architectual books in the collection and discussed them briefly, after which members examined them at their leisure.